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# **East Europe Report**

**POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS**

**No. 1988**



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12 April 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1998

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### DANISH PAPER REPORTS POLL IN USSR ON SOLIDARITY TRADE UNION

#### USSR Poll on Solidarity Union

PM251545 Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 21 Mar 82 p 6

[Report by Jan Jakob Floryan: "Majority in Soviet Union Hostile to Solidarity"]

[Text] The majority of Soviet citizens are hostile to the Polish Solidarity trade union in the form it was taking before the coup. This is shown by an investigation which has been smuggled out of Moscow and is now being published in the West for the first time. Of those interviewed, 55 percent had a negative attitude toward Solidarity, while 32 percent had a positive one.

#### Attitudes toward Solidarity

Hostile	13 percent
Indignant and surprised	30 percent
Skeptical and mocking	8 percent
Negative with no reasons given	5 percent
Apathetic/do not know	13 percent
Positive with no reasons given	1 percent
Interested and sympathetic	16 percent
Positive and anxious about the future	11 percent
Deeply committed	5 percent

The most important subgroup within the survey was workers, 163 of whom took part. One-third had no knowledge of Solidarity, while almost half were hostile and aggressive to varying degrees. Only a little over 20 percent had a positive attitude toward the movement.

The same breakdown was found among the lower-paid, with less than 150 rubles per month, and among students. However, among these latter, answers were remarkably divided, with the extreme positions dominating. Among party members--81 individuals--the attitude was even more negative, with 80 percent against Solidarity.

There is a clear difference between male and female attitudes--women being more negative. Age also has an effect on attitude, with the young (under 30) and the old (over 50) being most negative.



The attitude of Soviet citizens is most clearly influenced by their education, and assessment of Solidarity become more positive as educational qualifications become better. For example, 60 percent of scientific workers who have not reached the higher academic grades were positive. In the group comprising academics in arts subjects there was a 50/50 split in attitude. People with a technical education, however, took the most negative view.

Very positive attitudes are found among those not of Russian nationality and among believers--66 percent among the former and 60 percent among the latter take a positive view, with no one at all with a negative attitude.

Only a very small percentage--4 to 5 percent--are deeply committed as regards Solidarity's struggle, but at the same time it is important to remember that none of those interviewed were dissidents and that the views expressed are not without risk.

However, this does not alter the fact that the military coup in December must have the support of a majority of the Soviet population.

#### Commentary on Solidarity Poll

PM251547 Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 21 Mar 82 p 6

[Report by Jan Jakob Floryan: "About the Poll"]

[Text] The above-mentioned poll was carried out illegally in Moscow and cannot, therefore, claim to be statistically representative. Thus, the results must be accepted with reservations.

The poll is based on 618 persons, and the more important subgroups are large enough to justify the more detailed breakdown of figures. The interviews were collected from mid-September to the beginning of December 1981 by the author's friends within their circles of acquaintances, but in such a way that various types of persons were included. In order to avoid any imbalance, dissidents were excluded. The interviews took the form of a conversation without the interviewee's being aware of the real objective.

The material was smuggled out of the Soviet Union and the author's name--S. Pukhov--is, of course, a pseudonym. The poll was passed on to BERLINGSKE TIDENDE by Borsi Weil, who works at the Royal Library in Copenhagen and is connected with the well-known exile publication L'ALTERNATIVE, published in Paris.

## BRIEFS

ANNIVERSARY OF STALIN'S DEATH--ATA Report: Various activities were organized on the occasion of the 29th anniversary of the death of J.V. Stalin, brilliant Marxist-Leninist, faithful pupil and worthy continuer of the great work of Lenin. Workers in work and production centers and in various institutions, soldiers, veterans, young men and young women, pupils in the schools in Tirana District and other districts of the country recently visited the "V.I. Lenin-J.V. Stalin museum in the capital city. Special programs were organized for them. They were told about the life and activity of the steadfast revolutionary, Stalin, about the resolute struggle which he waged to protect the purity of Marxism-Leninism against revisionism and opportunism of every hue. Also, the talks stressed the consistent struggle of the Albanian Workers Party, headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, to defend Stalin and his immortal work, as a struggle in defense of Marxism-Leninism. The documentary film on Stalin was shown to the visitors,. [Excerpts] [Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 6 Mar 82 p 1]

CSO: 2100/57

## COORDINATION BETWEEN CSSR'S STATE, SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS DESCRIBED

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 1, Jan 82 pp 14-23

[Article by Josef Kordak, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and premier of the CSR Government: "Close Cooperation of State Organs and Social Institutions--A Significant Feature of Socialist Democracy"]

[Text] We are entering 1982 with the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress whose fulfillment is the goal of efforts shared by the CPCZ, the National Front and all institutions of our socialist state. Even under more complex circumstances we shall proceed systematically from the strategic program for the building of a developed socialist society. Developments over the past 9 months confirmed that the program of the 16th Congress is the only feasible alternative pointing out the way to the solution of difficult problems in our economy and in other areas, to efficient eradication of our own shortcomings and impediments put in our path by the development of the international situation as well as of the situation in world markets.

The Fourth Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee responded to the harsh realities of the contemporary world with an answer reflecting our party's responsibility for the further advance of socialism, for a contented life of our country's citizens, and for the destiny of future generations; it is an answer worthy of our best revolutionary traditions and of our communist goals. The Central Committee placed in the forefront the requirement of closer unity of the party ranks, consolidation of our solidarity with the masses, and stimulation of the struggle for a prompt and comprehensive fulfillment of the decisions postulated by the congress. On the basis of an analysis of current problems the Fourth Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee reached the conclusion that it is imperative to achieve "a substantial turn in the level and efficiency of all work in management. This primary consideration applies to the entire party, from top to bottom, from the Central Committee to its basic organizations. Likewise, the federal government, the national governments, the ministries, the national committees, the general directorates and enterprises must upgrade the standard of their managing and organizational operations along the entire state and economic axis. Analogically, the communists in social institutions in which the absolute majority of our population is associated must become more demanding when asking how to train people for the tasks stipulated by the congress; they must correspondingly improve their programs of political education and organization. We must be more critical when analyzing our problems; we must be more



efficient in resolving them, in implementing the adopted decisions and in controlling their fulfillment." These words of Comrade Gustav Husak expressed the gist of what we need in order to achieve success in meeting the tasks of 1982.

The imperative to escalate our efforts and to proceed with greater vigor, determination and military concerns all of us; everyone has a stake in it. There is no reason whatsoever for self-satisfaction; there is always something in need of improvement and upgrading everywhere. No sector is without some major or minor untapped assets. By setting them in motion we may help accelerate progress on a societywide scale and make it more comprehensive. One of the significant--albeit not always fully appreciated--assets is more consistent orientation on efficient, informal cooperation of our state organs and social institutions in the interest of more functional implementation of the CPCZ policies and in agreement with the needs of our society's further development.

Our building of developed socialism as a unified social system poses higher demands on organic unity and harmonious balance in all its sectors and links. The main guarantee for the management of this process is the leading role of the CPCZ, particularly the consolidation of its coordinating function in relation to other sectors of our political system. This is related also to specifications of the purpose of operations carried out by our socialist state, to more goal-oriented division of labor between the center and the communities as well as to the effort to improve in general the structure of the state mechanism and the position of its individual factors. When planning and implementing the policies of the CPCZ and of our socialist state, there is an increasingly more meaningful role for our social institutions, representing a significant mechanism of the party's unity with the masses, complementing and enhancing the function of the state and at the same time, fulfilling their specific tasks in controlling social development; they serve as an important means for the citizens to assert themselves and to satisfy their individual interests and needs.

In terms of ideology and organization, socialism has always enjoyed the power and advantage of being able to amalgamate the broadest masses of the working people. This axiom is particularly distinctive at this stage in the building of developed socialism, however, by the same token, it is extremely demanding in its expression, particularly as concerns the ability to find its specific affirmation in the present specific situation. Therefore, it is an important talent, when leading the masses, to initiate differentiated approaches to individual classes and social groups, to apply various forms of work, to proceed from the everyday experience of the people and from the problems of their life in actual social conditions, to bring closer to them the perspectives of our socialist society in a close confrontation with the demands of our daily efforts to improve efficiency in every sector. And here every sector of our political system has its specific mission, opportunities and means.

The historical experience of the CPCZ in the 60 years of its struggles, especially over the last 10 years, has confirmed the validity of the idea

that the achievement of constant ideological and organizational leadership of the masses, based on a scientific program planned with the aid of Marxist-Leninist ideology, is a continuous and tremendously demanding social task. In the spirit of this principle, the 16th CPCZ Congress correctly articulated the basic problems of the current stage and formulated a political program in agreement with those conditions as the force motivating the mobilization of the masses.

It is typical for the strategy of economic development and for the building of developed socialism that they are focused on intensive methods of development, on the final national economic results and on the achievement of highly efficient social production. In the forefront, therefore, appears so much more distinctly the question of the most efficient operation of our political and economic mechanism. The management system which represents the most dynamic part of relations in production must expand the propagation of socialism and its vigorous proportional development. The mechanism for satisfaction of societywide economic interests must enforce their priority over group, local and partial interests. From these perspectives, we see in the forefront the relations between the Communist Party as the vanguard of the workers class and all the working people, the National Front as the political representative of the unified class, national and international interests of the Czechoslovak people and of the socialist state as the main organizer of the building of socialism.

The success of the Communist Party in our socialist state and of social institutions depends not only on correct understanding of their common and individual tasks and on an appropriate organizational structure but also on the skill of finding a correct approach to the masses in every individual, specific case, and of uplifting them politically, economically and culturally. That was the reason why Lenin considered it so important to know how "... to determine, in any problem and at any moment, the opinion of the masses and their real efforts, concerns, thoughts, to know how to determine, without the least false idealization, the level of their awareness and the force of the influence exerted by various prejudices and vestiges of bygone days, to know how to win unlimited confidence of the masses by a comradely attitude toward them and by considerate satisfaction of their needs."

To identify the contents, methods and objectives of the program of our national committees and social institutions at each stage of the development of socialism, the crucial question is how to approach the masses and galvanize them for a certain objective, how to find and maintain solid, informal and lively daily contacts with them. For that reason the power of every social institution depends on the quality of its identification with the policies of our party. Furthermore, it stems from their unified policy with our socialist state, from its vigorous, imaginative and at the same time responsible participation in the drafting, implementation and control of the laws and regulations on every level of our state organs. Social institutions have much in common with our Communist Party as the leading political power and with our socialist state; nevertheless, they can neither replace nor duplicate them.

Our economic practice calls for even more coordinated action in management and increasingly closer cooperation of the party, state, economic and trade union organs as well as of other social institutions. Experience has shown that even here we cannot overlook objective conditions and that it would be dangerous to regard the consolidation of their unity as disregard for the specifics of individual organizations, to misinterpret cooperation as weakening of independence, to imitate methods of work mechanically and to draw hasty conclusions from common objectives, to the effect that one type of organization may be replaced by another. Life has confirmed that thus far none of those factors of our political system has fully developed its potential. At present, this concerns the consolidation of a unified program by all these factors and simultaneously, the fulfillment of specific social functions, based on joint support for the CPCZ policy, which is the program of our entire society, and on the dynamic action of the communists active in all sectors.

The position of social institutions in our socialist political system is--figuratively speaking--between the party and the state power. It provides a base without which state organs cannot adequately discharge their duties. Yet the reverse is also true--without united action with the state organs, no social institution can operate really efficiently in our socialist society. This has been confirmed also by the experience from joint agreements concluded by the URO [Central Council of Trade Unions] secretariat with the presidium of the federal government, and of the presidia of the governments of the republics with the secretariats of national trade union councils, and from the cooperation of the territorial trade union organs with national committees. In the interest of the mobilization of all social forces and resources, this calls for even more extensive and above all, more efficient implementation of this method of work.

The unity of the Communist Party with the masses, the close cooperation between the organs of our socialist state and social institutions of the National Front, the highest possible harmony of laws and duties of all links and individuals provide the basis for the socialist democracy to operate efficiently. A creative, informal application of this principle helps best to avoid the pitfalls of anarchist arbitrariness and bureaucratic organizational overkill. The slogan of democracy in the more than 60 years of history of socialism had been on more than one occasion misused against its achievements. However, that changes nothing on the vital necessity to proceed tenaciously in developing socialist democracy, to make it an organic part in the enforcement of scientific methods of work and in the effort to raise the efficiency of all managing processes. No higher level of socialism may be achieved without more far-reaching and mature participation of the people.

The development of socialist democracy is one of the basic objective principles of the building of developed socialist policy. Even here we cannot rely on any self-activated developments. The crucial part here is the leading role of the Communist Party, implemented thoroughly, comprehensively and correctly, as discussed at the fourth Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee. Practical application of this postulate in the political, economic

and cultural areas, and in places of work and residence calls for political maturity, systematic effort and tactical skill. Continuous improvement of socialist democracy depends on correctly resolved programmatic conclusions from the changes in our social structure, on constant concern about efficient operations of the political mechanism and on a better style and method of work.

The 16th CPCZ Congress presented another proof of the broad base we have for intensification of socialist democracy: the National Front and the institutions associated in it, the entire system of representative councils, from the Federal Assembly to local national committees, executive state organs, and the legal, educational and information systems. At the same time, the congress stressed that at the present stage in the building of developed socialism it is particularly important for all those sectors to function efficiently; to fulfill their functions in close cooperation and unity and in the spirit of the party's political program; to follow societywide interest always and everywhere, and to act so as to enhance the working people's participation in the management of the production and in the administration of our state.

Safeguarding and development of our society under increasingly more complex conditions depends on the level to which the Communist Party identifies with the masses and on its skill to hearken to their voice, on vigorous support for every initiative that is beneficial to socialism, and on wholesome, constructive criticism from below. We regard dynamic reactions to the recommendations by our working people as an important means to prevent errors and to rectify the developing problems promptly and consistently. By the same token, in the innermost interest of millions of our citizens we resolutely oppose demagoguery, idle criticism and disparagement of our accomplishments. Following the lessons of crisis development which have also been confirmed by the current events in Poland, we are dealing with our problems in building a new society and developing socialist democracy where neither space nor opportunity will be given to the adversaries of socialism.

Winning people over for the CPCZ political program is an offensive in the political and ideological struggle in which our party teaches the masses and learns from them, combining its conscientious attitude with sensitivity and a differentiated approach. As all the landmarks on its path over the 60 years demonstrate, the CPCZ fought for the Leninist interpretation of relations between the party and the masses by overcoming opportunistic submission to conservative feelings, sycophancy and demagoguery as well as sectarian impatience and isolationism. Also, any further successful advance presupposes respect for those lessons from its past.

The objective trend in the development of socialist democracy as a form of government by the workers class in unity with other working people stems from the need for even more efficient mobilization of all social forces and resources. The demands for the implementation of the principle that socialism is an achievement of creative and conscientious activity of the broad masses are growing with each higher degree of our social development and are increased in relation to the rigor of our social tasks. It is



neither a simple nor one-shot matter to grasp this fact in theory and to fulfill it in practice.

Moreover, socialist democracy has its quantitative as well as qualitative aspects. Over the past 10 years our party has paid considerable attention to an expansion of its social base, in other words, to increasing the number of the working people actively participating in the management of production and in the administration of our state. Moreover, we focused on further consolidation of the role played by basic units of national committees and social institutions as well as on the consolidation of the role played by work teams. In quantitative aspects, for example, in the growth of the membership in social institutions and of participants in various public programs, our advance was far from negligible, yet even here we have not exhausted every opportunity. For various reasons, many people failed to become interested in social issues, to feel an inner urge to take an active part in the work of our national committees and to get involved in the programs of social institutions, which undercuts the efforts of other people to a great extent.

However, the main problem today stems not only from consolidating the mass character of labor and political initiatives, but primarily from the qualitative aspects, i.e., from the direction of its contents and from its actual efficiency. In itself, even socialist democracy is not self-serving; its purpose is not to participate for the sake of participating, or to be active for activity's sake. Its fruits are decisive--the standard of efficiency of production in the place of work, the quality of the environment in the place of residence, the level of maturity and the cultural standard achieved by individuals, collectives and the broadest masses.

In this qualitative development, every step forward becomes increasingly more strenuous, albeit more commendable and, above all, important for the fulfillment of the purpose and function of socialist democracy. Even here we cannot proceed from mere wishful thinking; we must make realistic demands and discern the limitations and restrictions stemming from the conditions of people's awareness and the time available to them, from their preparation for competent participation in management and, in the final analysis, also from the level of efficiency in the operation of the political system itself.

Socialism opened rich opportunities for mass exploitation of the right to take part in the creation, implementation and control of the political program, and as the new constitution of the USSR confirms, it is gradually transforming that right into a basic civic duty. We do not regard the level of our society's realistic democratism as the culmination of our efforts; we are not blind to its historical limitations or to needless bureaucratic shortcomings, expressions of formalism and diabolical red tape. We are aware of the problems on hand and we do not conceal them. We shall not resolve them by turning back to the old, historically outworn and restricted bourgeois democracy, as various anticommunists would advise us; instead, we shall consistently follow the socialist path, the methods germane to the substance of our system and the forms based on more determined, thorough and comprehensive implementation of Leninist principles.

We are learning day in and day out that our talent to interest the necessary number of people in a certain task determines the prompt and complete fulfillment of our plans and that more demanding tasks cannot be met without wider involvement of our people. The experience of our best enterprises, national committees and work teams has confirmed that next to an efficient management, the source of their success is above all in an increasing involvement of the people. Without such an approach by the working people plans cannot be fulfilled promptly, fully, economically, in accordance with societywide interests and with lasting results. This path, which calls for considerable patience and confidence in the strength and abilities of the masses, is based on the art of winning over and persuading, and is incompatible with domineering and formalistic attitudes. To accomplish this purpose, our political system, with its extensive, internally differentiated organizational structure has created fine preconditions which we have not always sufficiently utilized.

We know well that efficient operation of the system of socialist democracy also depends on efficiently organized activities of collectives and individuals in every sector. We have begun improving the organizational structure of national committees; we are organizing a system of central committees, and we intend to reach full solution of certain issues related to the work of national committees in large housing projects. Nor do we underestimate the organizational aspect of the issue, although we do not see the solution in continuous reorganizations but most of all in improving the style of work and in raising it to the level of current tasks and needs of socialist democracy. Here we proceed in the spirit of the idea postulated in the report by the CPCZ Central Committee to the 16th Congress that "the strength of the Leninist style is primarily in our systematic work with the people. The activity of every official and of every responsible worker must be characterized by our knowledge of people's view, by our sensitive approach to their problems and needs, by systematic explanation of our party's policies to them, by our skill in convincing them and winning them over for the fulfillment of these policies, and by the generalization of their experience."

The development of socialist democracy provides the preconditions and the means for the implementation of the program stipulated by the 16th CPCZ Congress. It is a common issue of the people's active participation in the solution of practical matters of life in factories, communities and towns. National committees contribute greatly, especially on their basic level, so that as many citizens as possible may enjoy the advantages and achievements of socialism and so that they may feel the need "to participate" and "to be with it" because of their inner conviction that they are the creators of values and their conscientious stewards. The people's activity and the results of this activity are expanding wherever they are in step with actual demands. The election programs of the National Front represent the main device for the joint processes of all links of our political system and the common denominator for the activity of our political organs and for the development of people's involvement. It has become customary for the organs of the National Front and for the organizations associated in it to participate in the drafting and implementation of election programs. Those relevant and public documents open a wide space for the initiative of the organizations



of the National Front in developing various methods of work and programs of ideological education.

The 16th Congress underscored once again that an important part in consolidating the power of the people and in the further development of socialism was assigned to national committees as the main links in contact with our citizens and as a practical school of socialist democracy. Increasing demands on the management of socioeconomic development call for dramatically improved methods and style of work of the state administration, for high personal responsibility and for a politically mature, expert and creative approach by every worker.

The elections in June 1981 provided the basic cadre preconditions. More than 70,000 of the 196,469 elected representatives of national committees in the CSSR are women and 71,000 are young people under 35 years of age. According to the social structure, 42.9 percent are workers, 17.0 percent cooperative farm workers, 22.5 percent members of our intelligentsia, and 17.6 percent members of other social groups. In the new national committees, 56.7 percent are members of the CPCZ who work in harmony and unity with the members of other political parties of the National Front and with politically unaffiliated citizens. These data characterize also the composition of national committees in the CSR. The fact that the composition of our national committees corresponds with the class and social structure of our society offers advantageous preconditions for close unity with citizens of the widest range of occupations and age groups. Furthermore, it also favorably affects their consolidation and cooperation with organizations of the National Front and work teams from factories and JZD [unified agricultural cooperatives].

The efficiency of the methods of work carried out by our national committees is determined by the fact that they do not represent only organs of the local administration but rather the representative councils which in their territorial areas deal with basic problems of the state administration and which are capable of expressing comprehensively the interests and desires of our people. National committees are dealing with the most essential and the most urgent issues of our people's life and work, and stand in the forefront of constructive efforts. Therefore, our party organs frequently discuss relevant problems of their activity, and the organs and organizations of the National Front pay constant attention to the fulfillment of election programs.

The economy represents the main battleground in the building of developed socialism. This implies the necessity of increased attention to economic issues and to the problems of comprehensive socioeconomic development along with upgrading our people's living conditions in towns and in villages. The maxim of Soviet communists that "particular concern about each particular man and his needs is the alpha and omega of our party's economic policy" defines precisely the direction and purpose of our efforts. National committees bear considerable responsibility for making the power of socialist democracy effectively serve economic progress--the material base for better and higher safeguards of citizens' rights and freedoms.

Intensification of the influence exerted by our national committees on our economy does not stem from better territorial planning alone but rather from more scrupulous demands on the standard of the performance of their coordinating functions. In our socialist society, places of residence and work form an organic unity whose healthy and, at the same time, efficient development depends on the goal-oriented enforcement of the unity of territorial and production principles. The development of individual communities is in the common interest of all citizens who reside or work in those communities. Also, the experience of recent years has confirmed that it is appropriate to focus on goal-oriented unification of forces of local authorities representing state power and administration with production plants and social institutions of the National Front. Much has been done in this respect under the leadership of our party organs, as demonstrated, for example, by the share of the ROH [Revolutionary Trade Union Movement] organs and organizations in the building of socialist towns and communities following the spirit of the slogan "The Factory to the Town--the Town to the Factory."

In order to unify more efficiently the socioeconomic development of individual communities, we support joint programs in planning construction projects, in organizing political and social actions, and in collecting material and financial funds. The value of projects contributed by Action Z during the Sixth Five-Year Plan in the CSR which amounted to Kcs 34.6 billion is convincing proof of the opportunities open to this method.

When searching for more effective methods of citizen participation in management and administration, close cooperation of our national committees with organs and organizations of the National Front proved successful, for instance, in organizing public meetings with citizens and the so-called dialogue of the national committees with young people, in preparing and implementing unified plans for cultural and educational programs, and in developing mass political programs by mediation of the propaganda centers.

The achievement of useful cooperation among all sectors of our political system in the CSR on individual levels of national committees have been confirmed by numerous markedly successful results, for example, the fact that the ROH contributed some Kcs 3.4 billion to united funds, that the trade union members volunteered 231 million hours for the action "Trade Unionists to Their Plant and to the Republic" in order to fulfill the election program, and that the trade union organs and organizations helped expand the capacities of kindergartens by 153,000 places. Members of the Socialist Youth League, the Czech Gymnastic Organization, Svazarm, the Union of Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship, the Czech Red Cross, the Union for Fire Protection of the CSR, and other social institutions provided considerable aid in the fulfillment of election programs. Commendable actions of the Czech Union of Livestock Breeders, the Association of Czech Gardeners, the Association of Czech Hunters, and the Association of Czech Beekeepers represent a considerable economic contribution. In agreement with the focus on the exploitation of all agricultural lands, the Fourth Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee underlined the importance of the useful activities of the livestock breeders and keepers which is beneficial to our society and to individuals. National committees cooperate closely with agricultural enterprises and will assist them effectively in their endeavors.

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[III - EE - 63]

The program for the building of a developed socialist society in the CSSR proceeds from the generally valid principle based on the growing role of the subjective factor, involvement and awareness of our people. It is imperative to mobilize more and more efficiently the inexhaustible resources of our people's creativity and to develop the activity of our working people and, thus, to increase the demands on efficient operation of the whole political system where the National Front plays an important role now, as it will in the future. The 16th CPCZ Congress emphasized: "We shall bear in mind that the National Front, as a political expression of the class unity of industrial and farm workers and the intelligentsia, and of the close kinship of our nations and nationalities, further galvanizes the efforts of the communists, of politically unaffiliated citizens and of members of other political parties in the building of socialism, intensifies their full and equal participation in the management and administration of our public affairs, and creates good preconditions for assertion of the diverse interests of our citizens and of their political rights and freedoms."

The CPCZ has consolidated its unity with the broad strata of our working people by protecting and further developing the socialist contents and functions of the National Front, that great historical achievement of our people. This form of class unity and the method of organizing and leading the masses in specific Czechoslovak conditions enhances the power of our socialist system and represents important support for all sectors of our socialist state, which is in the interest of the building of developed socialism as a truly democratic society whose political system guarantees efficient management of all social affairs, increasingly more vigorous participation of our working people in the life of our state and the unity of genuine human rights and freedoms with civic responsibility.

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CSO: 2400/129

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

FEBRUARY 1982 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Feb 82 p 4

[Rene Heilig review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 2, February 1982, signed to press 13 January 1982, pp 113-224: "Initiatives for Growing Yields." Translations and/or summaries of articles by authors cited below as well as by others are published in pages following this review]

[Text] The February issue of EINHEIT signals the preparations for the 12th Farmers Congress to be held in May this year in Berlin.

There is but a 0.37-hectare acreage per capita in the GDR, which makes it mandatory, as Werner Felfe asserts in his contribution, to use maximally and properly each square meter of soil during the entire vegetation period. The most important thing, he goes on to emphasize, is the struggle for top achievements in grain and livestock feed grain production. To accomplish the ambitious goals in crop and animal production, the great opportunities inherent in the cooperative ownership in the means of production have to be exhausted more and more.

"In every LPG we must, through good political-ideological work by the basic organization, expert management activity, and the consistent use of socialist industrial management, but mainly also through the development of cooperative democracy, create the kind of conditions for the cooperative farmers, male and female, to conduct with great initiative the struggle for high yields and performance while reducing expenditures," Werner Felfe affirms.

Heinz Kuhrig comments on the importance of the new LPG law, its bill being currently debated. He mainly focuses on two questions: the continuing internal consolidation of the LPG's, the responsibility of the collectives and the still closeties between crop and animal producers. Two LPG chairmen, Johannes Ruhnke and Heinz Ziegenbalg, add experiences from the work of their cooperation council, and Prof Dr Erich Ruebensam explains the tasks of the agricultural scientists. The international importance of stable yields is underscored by Horst Schilling, who also unmasks the U.S. food-power strategy.

Furthermore, this issue 2 offers interesting matters about GDR literature (Klaus Hoepcke) and facts on U.S. support for reactionary regimes (Werner Flach).

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Solidarity.

There is a clear difference between male and female attitudes--women being more negative. Age also has an effect on attitude, with the young (under 30) and the old (over 50) being most negative.

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## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

### CRITERIA FOR ACCEPTABLE SOCIAL CRITICISM IN LITERATURE DEFINED

#### West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 20, 8 Feb 82 'Iwe-kultur' supplement

[Report from Berlin: "SED Sets Limits to Literary Social Criticism." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The theoretical SED journal EINHEIT (No 2, 1982) has set definite limits to literary social criticism by GDR writers. The journal granted authors the right, to be sure, to attack "morally dubious thoughts and actions," but resolutely opposed texts "pretending to critical descriptions of petty bourgeois views and modes of conduct while actually cultivating such characteristics in a literary way." The impression would then be created that such features were appropriate to socialist society, characteristic of socialism, as it were, rather than "deeply alien" to this order. "Such interpretations" were facilitated particularly by a "conspicuous lack of social accuracy" in literary presentation. So one should "carefully distinguish" between criticism, or the "so-called critical element" in the GDR's socialist literature, and anti-socialist criticism. As in all other aspects of political life and literary work, one should "also have to judge criticism in terms of its class-bound positions."

#### Deputy Culture Minister's Analysis

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 2, Feb 82 (signed to press 13 Jan 82) pp 173-179

[Article by Klaus Hoepcke, GDR deputy minister for culture; chief, Main Administration for Publishing Houses and Book Trade: "Fantasy in the Service of the Real--On Achievements and Tasks of Our Literature"]

[Text] Pursuant to its function to reflect our socialist reality and help shape it progressively in its own way, much in our literary work deals with the basic topic of our time: the struggle for safeguarding peace and strengthening socialist positions. Those works settle accounts with fascism and war and deal with freedom and responsibility and with the claim to happiness in socialism. Important components to further heighten the quality and effectiveness of our literature are the presentation of the workers



class as the leading force, relevance to and truth about reality, the authors' honesty in being oriented to social and historic progress, and imagination and skill, in further enhancing our literature.

Literature and art have their own ways by which they take an active part in advancing the socialist revolution in our country. They affect the deep change taking place in society and each individual person. It was in this sense that Comrade Erich Honecker affirmed at the 10th party congress: "During recent years, art and literature have produced much that is part of our constantly changing socialist reality and at the same time affects this change."<sup>1</sup> To be an element and factor that moves life in its changes--that is what counts in works of art dedicated under socialism to socialism.

What are the conditions for works of art to affect life this way, for novels and stories--with which we shall mainly deal here--to contribute, qualitatively still better and more effectively, in their specific and unique way, to socialist personality formation, at a time when what matters is to strengthen the efficacy of socialism and the struggle for the preservation of peace?

#### Answers to Questions That Move Our Times

Our literature often picks up issues that move us very much in the present age. In Berlin recently, the executive board of the Writers Association of the GDR considered the subject "authors and peace." Hermann Kant advanced from the consideration that everyone in our country has appropriated a love for peace--as Erwin Strittmatter would put it. Kant paid tribute to the books of our authors as a "peace library" giving voice to the conscience and memory of the people. He advocated that our authors should remain loyal to the tradition tied to the name of Anna Seghers, to meddle, in their literature and outside of it, in the political struggle for the preservation of peace.<sup>2</sup>

Outside of literature this happens, among other things, through the various activities in the sense of the joint declaration by authors of the GDR and the USSR for disarmament and peace and by backing the appeal of European writers against the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles on West European territory. In meetings such as the "Berlin Encounter on the Promotion of Peace," which was held in December 1981, it becomes clear that we are ready and able to enter a broad alliance in the struggle for peace with all who are interested in it. That implies resolutely representing and maintaining the historically proven unity between socialism and peace, within the framework of any such alliance, in opposition to a mode of thinking which negates the decades-long and ongoing lead accomplishments in the peace struggle by the socialist states and their peoples. That sort of thinking suppresses, at least insufficiently recognizes, that our party policy, the industrious work of our citizens, and all manifestations and demonstrations in our country are deeply imbued with the care for preserving peace and ensuring a material and cultural well-being for all people.

In a literary sense, our authors' will to peace is expressed in a substantively and thematically broad scale of works. Autobiographies by Peter Edel, Franz Fuehrmann, Stephan Hermlin, Ruth Werner and others, memoirs, e.g. by Alexander



Abusch, as well as novels and stories coming to grips with the past, are among them. There are Hermann Kant's "Der Aufenthalt" [The Stay], Kurt David's "Die Ueberlebende" [The Survivor], Christa Wolf's "Kindheitsmuster" [Model of Childhood], Max Walter Schulz' "Der Soldat und die Frau" [The Soldier and the Woman] and "Die Fliegerin oder Aufhebung einer stummen Legende" [The Aviatrix or the Cancellation of a Mute Myth], Eberhard Panitz' "Meines Vaters Strassenbahn" [My Father's Streetcar], Bernhard Seeger's "Harmonikaspieler" [The Harmonica Player], Jan Koplowitz' "'Bohemia'--mein Schicksal" ["Bohemia"--My Destiny], Otto Gotsche's "Die seltsame Belagerung von Saint Nazaire" [The Strange Siege of Saint Nazaire], Peter Abraham's "Pianke," Eva Lippold's novel trilogy "Haus der schweren Tore" [The House with the Heavy Gates], made into a film by Guenther Ruecker and Guenter Reisch under the title "Die Verlobte" [The Betrothed], and others. These works mainly reinforce the conviction that all peace-threatening and inhuman social relations--particularly fascism--have to be opposed until even their tiniest roots or hidden belated shoots are destroyed completely. The chief tenor of such works is the realization that one's own humanistic activity always has a critical bearing on being human and experiencing humanism.

A special place in our literature goes to presentations depicting the lives of people over decades under the workers and farmers power or in separate sections of these decades, describing how, with the growth of our republic, most people also opt for an auspicious, socialist position in life. The wealth of material that must go into them, all the entwining of individual life stories with social processes, and the propensity toward the epic detail of a panorama of history explain why works of this sort, e.g. by Bastian, Knappe, Neutsch, Roehricht or Strittmatter, come to several volumes or parts. The artistic work on this subject matter is going to ripen further. Relying on the suggestions and evaluations prepared meanwhile on GDR history by our scientific historiography, those authors will find it more possible still to link the individual fate of their heroes more artistically and organically with historical perspectives.

Books more immediately related to our socialist present about the value of man and his place in society, such as Guenter Goerlich's "Eine Anzeige in der Zeitung" [Newspaper Ad] and Erik Neutsch's "Zwei leere Stuehle" [Two Empty Chairs] can be read mainly as artistic testimonies to human creativity unfolding in socialism, each as a Song of Songs about the conflict-ridden construction of a new world, a pleading for frankness and caution in dealing with one another, warnings against superficial and perfunctory judgments on the strengths and weaknesses of characters evolving. Younger authors as well, like Frank Weymann and Beate Morgenstern, reveal through manifold literary fates and encounters the tensions in human fellowship in socialism.

The focal point in many recent works in epic literature is the relation between freedom and responsibility in socialism. So it is in Jurij Brezan's "Krabat oder Die Verwandlung der Welt" [Krabat or the Transformation of the World], Helmut Sakowski's "Daniel Druskat," Dieter Nolla's "Kippenberg," Volker Braun's volume of stories, "Das ungezwungne Leben Kants" [Kant's Easy Life], Erik Neutsch's story "Forster in Paris," Walter Flegel's novel "Es gibt kein Niemandsland" [There is No No man's-Land], as well as novels penned by still hardly known authors like Achim Metzkes' "Das Haus des Vaters" [Father's House] and Helmut H. Schulz' "Das Erbe" [The Legacy]. Remarkably, it is shown there through material of the

past and present--without denying the concrete historic conditioning of human existence--that any historically achieved dimension of freedom has to be consummated through full individual responsibility. Dieter Noll's novel, for instance, derives from the freedom to act creatively, which has socially so much expanded in our present-day socialism, a higher personal responsibility, and when such responsibility is aborted, he does not accept it being shoved off to "circumstances at fault," accepts no attempts at apologies.

Suggestive ideas about the problem of freedom and responsibility can also be found in Inge von Wangenheim's essay to be published under the title "Genosse Jemand und die Klassik" [Comrade Somebody and Classicism]; it was circulated in excerpts prior to publication, for review.<sup>3</sup> Her essay causes us to reflect on that dealing with developmental problems and contradictions in our society always demands that we proceed from what has been accomplished and is to be preserved in our socialist society. Otherwise, stimulating considerations, as also expressed by the author, would be deprived of their whole foundation, as it were. Her thesis that the continuity of revolutionary action threatens to be broken among us must, therefore, be countered by affirming that our grandfathers' torch of revolutionary action certainly has been and is being passed on from the fathers to the children of our time through a, to be sure, contradictory yet altogether successful process that conforms to current class struggle conditions.

Another topic that comes close to the relation between freedom and responsibility is that of man's claim to happiness and its possibilities of fulfillment in socialism. This has also been dealt with in many literary works such as Brigitte Reimann's novel "Franziska Linkerhand," Hans Weber's "Einzug ins Paradies" [Entering Paradise] and--to mention more recent works--in Benno Pludra's children's book "Insel der Schwaene" [The Island of the Swans] and Egon Aderhold's artist's novel "Strichvogel" [Bird of Passage]. The same problem is confronted by many books describing either a successful or a failed effort by men and women to practice equality. This also reminds us of works by Maxie Wander, Irma Traud Mergner, Helga Schubert and Helga Koenigsdorf. Not last, we should also refer to works about the fate of mentally disturbed persons such as Sibylle Muthesius' recent, richly documented book "Flucht in die Wolken" [Escape into the Clouds] which--along with other similar books--found deserved attention in the just ended year of the disabled.

Yet what about books pessimistic in their tenor, suggesting the idea that man's claim to happiness cannot be fulfilled? Their authors misperceive or do not perceive deeply enough how vast the opportunities actually are in socialism for having individuals creatively unfold their capacities. Fighting for the realization of humanistic ideals, for making the lofty goals of socialism prevail--that is our vital element and it is worth writing about it. And then there are other works that call for criticism in which, either directly or below the threshold, the human-moral value of achievement is placed in doubt. Achievement, understood as responsible, imaginative, disciplined and effective work for socialism--this we know from our national and international experience still better today than we did yesterday--is the basis for the well-being and happiness of the people. The will and capacity, readiness and ability for performance in our society are the practical expression of socialist consciousness, of implementing real humanism. They are highly to be esteemed human traits. They increase the material, cultural and moral wealth of our society and deserve to be respected and fostered by all who create literature.

## Portraying the Workers Class as the Leading Force

An essential reason for whether works of GDR literature are effective or not is to be found in how successfully the working class has been given artistic shape in them. The "key problem in further artistic advances is and remains the portrayal of the workers class as the leading social force."<sup>4</sup>

And this is not only a matter of the artistic treatment of reality as the workers class sees it, of solving conflicts in terms of the ideology of the workers class and its revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party. But for the sake of further progress in art it also is a matter of enriching more than we have our literature and art with characters of workers, both male and female, so that their relations, thoughts, feelings and actions, their intellectually demanding or heavy physical work, which may often be interesting and yet may sometimes be monotonous, or their work in project planning or the chief operator domains, get more frequent and thorough artistic exploration and treatment, providing the joys and cares of the members of the working class, all they feel are victories or defeats, all they enjoy and are pained by, with more emphatic expression in our narrative, lyrical and dramatic literature.

With respect to further advances in our literature and art, it remains correct and important to direct our attention at the literary treatment especially of such important sides in the life of the workers class which essentially determine its social role in socialism: its efficacy as the leading force. To cope with this extensively remains a creative task artists have to solve time and again. Many authors have presented studies on these problems ever since our republic was founded. Eduard Claudius wrote "Menschen an unsere Seite" [Men on Our Side], Erich Neutsch, "Spur der Steine" [The Trace of Stones], Herbert Otto, "Die Sache mit Maria" [The Business With Maria], Joachim Nowotny, "Ein gewisser Robel" [A Certain Robel], and so forth. Younger authors continue this tradition. Like Claus Nowak with his book, "Wart nicht auf einen Orden" [Don't Wait for a Medal], where representatives of three workers' generations clash with their disparate attitudes toward life in socialist society. The unevenly developed degree of dialectics in personality development and revolutionary conduct, throughout the ordinary day or on the job, induces the author to present moral values such as courage, dedication, integrity, the will to work and the readiness for risks as desirable traits. Rolf Floss' book "Tanzstunden eines jungen Mannes" [A Young Man's Dancing Lessons] deals with the growing-up process of the young worker Hagen Tautz, to show that character development in socialist society is a social process asking for more than just personal honesty and individual courage. One should further mention Harry Falkenhayn's book "Einer vom Rummel" [One from the Fair-ground], which shows why meaningful work and a great love affair significantly determine men's sense of happiness in socialism, and Lothar Hoericke's "Rando" and works by Hartmut Biewald, Jochen Hauser, Harald Heinze, and Harry Kampling.

If one asks how such literary achievements and contributions to artistic progress in our country have been examined and paid tribute to by literary criticism and literary science, much that has been done can be pointed to and much that still has to be done. We should also mention that the ministry of culture, the writers association, publishing houses, the youth association, trade unions and other social organizations want to do more still, and together, to detect talents who will above all portray and persuasively present the workers class as the leading social force through their writing.

laws and regulations on every level of our state organs. Social institutions have much in common with our Communist Party as the leading political power and with our socialist state; nevertheless, they can neither replace nor duplicate them.

### Relevant and True to Reality

The 10th party congress has posed the task to improve the quality and efficacy of our literature further. Success in this will essentially depend on how close the works of art come to the processes that are under way in life, on whether they grasp, party-mindedly, the true content of the processes of reality. The twofoldness of relevance and truth to life is what counts. To gain in ideas, ethics and philosophy from literature "we need artistry with the whole fulness of its means of expression which must be not only relevant, but also true, to reality."<sup>5</sup>

In the years after the eighth party congress, many literary works came out that excelled in being relevant to reality. That moved into our field of vision many facts of life that had previously not been or hardly been observed. If the importance of such facts and phenomena is explored, evaluated and given artistic form from party-minded socialist positions, the artist, through a denser relevance to reality in his material, also makes a contribution to the truth of reality, to an emotionally and rationally deeper understanding for socially motivating issues.

In coupling the relevance with the truth of reality, the emphasis lies on truthfulness. However close an artist may come to the phenomena of reality which he observes, describes and shapes, the rank of the work of art he creates, its validity, efficacy and permanence, in short, whether or not it is an artistic masterpiece, essentially is determined by whether and how far the artist penetrates to the essence of the phenomena, uncovering the essence so that it can be experienced in artistic terms, from the socialist standpoint of the changeability of the world. One of the crucial criteria of party-mindedness so understood, and one of the fundamental criteria of artistic achievement in socialist realism as such, is that the artist, behind and below the visible sides of reality, helps uncover its moving forces with their inevitabilities aimed at social progress, whereby he then in his specific way probes the truth. This is the sense in which our party program orients us to deepening the arts' content of socialist ideas.<sup>6</sup>

Clear is in all this that the truth of reality must not be identified with the external manifestations of facts, with material resemblance, with how true to nature something portrayed is. The fact is that an artistic portrayal as a rule, in a most imaginative way, combines impressions of reality with thought processes, showing events that have the likelihood and possibility of having happened but must not, as a rule, have happened just that way. Along with realistic portrayals there also are fairy tales, parables, phantastic-grotesque poems that may express something essential, correct or true about man's social practice, the character of a society or era, or the connection between man and his times. Truth value also has to be conceded to portrayals that do not resemble reality--provided they harmonize with the objective course of history. Genres like the phantastic, the grotesque, or satire, important as they are in socialist realism, can reveal the truth of reality, even if they mostly do it through pointed exaggerations and apparent distortions.

An intellectual and artistic mastery over the dialectic between relevance and truth to reality will lend wings to the further development of our socialist literary culture. We shall have a new literature which will provide great philosophic



and ideological, ethical and aesthetic proceeds, pleasure and enjoyment, and will, mentally and emotionally "teach us to live more humanly in having us take part in lives of other people, their thoughts and sentiments, their struggles, defeats and victories."<sup>7</sup> Fred Wander was right when he said, pointedly: "Let us build power plants, but air castles as well. Without air castles, no power plants!"<sup>8</sup>

#### Discovering the Fairy Tale of Reality

Relevant and true to reality. That reality is what both are relating to, points still to another aspect of importance to our socialist literature: that our world-outlook and conception of art concern the here and now. All our skill is aimed at real life, all our effort, at changing it further for the benefit of men. So it is also in literature and art. "We have to rearrange our relationship with reality, reeducate ourselves to understand the given and the actual. We must have more imagination, so that we can imagine what reality is actually all about. Let us start to deal with the given and then, discovering the fairy tale of reality, get closer to ourselves."<sup>9</sup>

The conception of a socialist author and poet contained in those remarks by Johannes R. Becher combines objectivity and subjectivity as important sides in creating art. Becher's standpoint opposes a view about GDR literature variously expressed during the 1970's, to the effect that the essential prerequisite for artistic truth solely was a "subjective authenticity," the writer's subjective judgment of reality. The artistically most persuasive achievements in GDR literature prove that subjective authenticity must above all be understood as personal integrity oriented to social and historic progress and as the writer's aesthetic uniqueness, as a characteristic, that is, which is deeply tied up with the aspect of the truth of reality. It remains a topical problem mainly because, once given the grown educational level of the working people and their creative participation in the everyday revolutionary changes of life, their demand for quality and relevance and truth to life in art has risen further.

That has some implications for the study of reality and the artist's relation with reality. One must agree with those authors who do not for once and for all want to refer to and rely on the knowledge of life once acquired. And young poets also are right when they seek to enrich, through a manifold experience of reality, their own ego, the subject which in the lyrical poet, as one knows, is--to quote Hegel--the object of his creation. Keeping close to life as it progresses, artists involved with life and with the people--both older and younger ones--seek ever new access to reality, especially to what is new, what is evolving through men's everyday modes of conduct.

Along with broader practical observation, greater attention should be given to scientific explorations and theoretical generalizations. There are quite a few works of art about materials from the past and present that would have enjoyed much more of a success if they had been preceded by a thorough study of historic or social facts and interconnections.

## Surmounting What Is Alien to the Essence of Socialism

When we ask about the artistic efficacy of our literature today and in the future, what is important there, along with accomplishment and the content in socialist ideas, and with the relevance and truth to reality, also is the degree of commitment by which our authors, e.g., attack morally dubious thoughts and actions by their works. Socialist art doubtless must and can find a terrain also "where it is a matter of surmounting attitudes that are alien in essence to our socialist society, as our party program has put it."<sup>10</sup> Gerhard Holtz-Baumert's collection of stories, "Erscheinen Pflicht" [Attendance Mandatory], e.g., shows how incisively literature can operate in this regard. It shows negative attitudes for what they are without allowing the least bit of doubt in the real humanistic capacity of our society to surmount such attitudes.

For literary works which intend this kind of effect, in conformity with social requirements, it is important for their creators and readers to understand profoundly two fundamental facts of Marxist-Leninist theory and policy: first, that development proceeds through contradictions and an idea of a condition without contradictions is undialectical and does not conform to our world-outlook; second, that it is criticism and self-criticism which our party uses deliberately to attack and overcome phenomena in our life which contradict socialism and to banish from socialist society such attitudes as egotism, heartlessness, greed and so forth.

On occasion one runs into texts that pretend critical portrayals of petty bourgeois views and modes of conduct but actually cultivate such characteristics in a literary way. The impression is created that such features are compatible with socialist society, peculiarities of socialism in a way, instead of deeply alien to the nature of this order. There are literary works which leave room for such interpretations due to a conspicuous lack of social accuracy in the literary portrayal. One must therefore carefully distinguish between criticism, or the so-called critical element in the GDR's socialist literature, and anti-socialist criticism. As with respect to everything else in our political life and literary creation, criticism must be judged in accordance with class-bound criteria as well. What a criticism actually is does not depend on quantity and is not determined by how sharp it may be as such, but by the answer to the question whether it comes from party-minded positions that strengthen or order or not. We must distinguish whether we are dealing with criticism that affirms socialism and criticizes obstacles that are hurting the forward march of socialism or with a criticism of real socialism expounded in the name of bourgeois value and individualistic personality ideas or of anarchistic anti-order conceptions. In manifestations impeding us, criticism is welcome to us which illuminates the reasons and motives for such manifestations and reveals their tenacity or the degree of their social harmfulness. And no one ought to think he can find a handle there for confusing it with anti-socialist attacks.

Altogether, the development of our socialist literature in the 1980's takes place under conditions that tax our capacities as never before in the struggle for the progress of mankind, the safeguarding of peace, and the communist future. Never yet since the end of World War II has world peace been as threatened as right now. In their alliance with other humanistic forces, the communists stand in the front



rank of the struggle against that pernicious imperialist policy. "Aware of the communists' great joint responsibility to peace and to averting the danger of war, our party has sought and is seeking to reinforce and extend its cooperation with the communist and workers parties and with all forces interested in peace and progress."<sup>11</sup> One of the most important tasks of our socialist literature and art is to track still more accurately all the problems of cognition and conduct that are tied up with those contradictory developments and help provide for people political, psychological and moral backing and guidance in these struggles.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 107.
2. Hermann Kant, "We Have Been and Are Ready When It Is a Matter of Peace," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 24 September 1981, p 4.
3. Cf. NEUE DEUTSCHE LITERATUR, No 3, 1981, pp 99 ff.
4. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 108.
5. Ibid., p 107.
6. Cf. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 52.
7. Kurt Hager, "Zu Fragen der Kulturpolitik der SED" (On SED Cultural Policy Matters), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1972, p 32.
8. Quoted in Maxie Wander, "Tagebuecher und Briefe" (Diaries and Letters), Der Morgen book publishing house, Berlin, 1979, p 168.
9. Johannes R. Becher, "Lessons on Facts or the Fairy Tale of Reality," "Gesammelte Werke" (Collected Works), Vol 13, Aufbau publishing house, Berlin and Weimar, 1972, pp 139-140.
10. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 107.
11. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 3. Tagung des ZK der SED" (From the Politburo to the Third SED Central Committee Plenum), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 22.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

MEMOIRS OF SED'S ALEXANDER ABUSCH REVIEWED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 2, Feb 82 (signed to press 13 Jan 82)  
pp 215-217

["In the Spirit of the Invincible Cause"--Review by Prof Dr Werner Neubert, head, faculty for Cultural Policy and Aesthetics, GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence; of book "Der Deckname, Memoiren" (The Cover Name. Memoirs), by Alexander Abusch, member, SED Central Committee; published by Dietz Verlag, East Berlin, 1981]

[Text] Autobiographical and memoir literature has, quantitatively and above all qualitatively, reached a level in our republic in the course of the last 15 years that raises it up into an indispensable constitutive element of the GDR's socialist national literature. In the literature of this genre and topic there are many (and still much better to be used) potentials for a firmly established Marxist-Leninist consciousness of history, and for keeping alive and carrying on the best traditions and values of the revolutionary German workers movement, in being proud of what has been accomplished. In all this, scientific historiography and individual memoirs published about the great struggles, temporary defeats and historic victories constitute no nicely differentiated positions taken on our era, nor are they reciprocal "complements," but they rather work together organically, are working "in each other," as Hegel once put it in a different context.

This qualitative efficacy, which ultimately requires a readership to be recognized, finds its decisive premise in the level of the scientific-party-minded standpoint of the author presenting the events of his time. He faces the task of rating his own role within the historic efforts of the working class party and the revolutionary world movement objectively as a whole and, with it, in its unique character, intellectual, psychological, emotional in kind. The result should not be merely a confirmation of oneself through retrospect but, above all, increase in knowledge for those who come after us, an enrichment of our fund of party-minded education, experience, and a handing on of basic verities in our class struggle.

Alexander Abusch's memoirs are a new climax among all the many rich and ripe autobiographies and memoirs we already have with their different content emphases, formal solutions and individual visions. It is of importance here that the author takes a position here as one who participated in epochal events. The fiery zeal of historic experience and co-combativeness is what the reader here senses on every page of the book, the passion of a revolutionary wholly submersed in the

cause, from the "school" of Karl Liebknecht, Lenin and Thaelmann, finding expression in each of the 22 chapters in the volume. As the credo for his memoirs one may take the plain yet programmatic statement for any party-minded presentation and formulation--found in the prologue, "While Writing My Memoirs": "If one wants to write as a communist, communist spirit must imbue even the toughest experiences and decisions" (p 10). In the few pages of introduction, Alexander Abusch alludes to the "aesthetics" in the conception of his two volumes of memoirs, covering the years 1902 to 1940 and 1940 to 1954, and he mentions the productive "torment" of his project: "What to pick out from the wealth of experience and cognition? How to find the drops which mirror the ocean of events as broadly and deeply as possible?" (p 9). Along with reawakening the sense of recall, documentary search and the evaluation of facts and documents were required, and attitudes, positions, and decisions for half a century had to be re-examined. The outcome of this arduous effort once again confirms that what Johannes R. Becher called finding the "salient point" in its dialectic with party-mindedness is the key to success in memoir literature.

In these memoirs of his, the author has found an impressive synthesis of scientific precision in presenting party history, at least bits of it, defined as "educational novel" by literary history and literary theory, that is to say, in presenting the actual growth of a person under the circumstances and conditions of his historic-political time.

So it is only logical that the memoirs start with a detailed presentation of the family and local milieu in which young Alexander Abusch, born in Cracow in 1902, receives the first impressions of his life as one of five children of hard-working parents in Nuernberg, his primarily social basic experience of existence, as it were, which--however many qualitatively new personality factors were added through party and self-education--remains yet unforgettable for the subsequent decades of this dynamic and stirring biography.

The tough subsistence struggle of his parents, getting to know work as the highest demand placed on all physical and psychological capacities of the individual, a humanity and solidarity in everyday life virtually taken for granted, the still unconscious yet steady search for beauty, cleanliness and clarity in inter-human relations, all that is presented impressively and against a concrete historic background in the first two chapters about the curriculum vitae of young Alexander Abusch ("A Boy Becomes a Communist" and "Apprenticeship and Not Much Travel"). This is the exposition for an individual life which can gain its dimensions however not until it can fully find a new, collectively organized and historically organizing force--the revolutionary party of the workers class.

In Nuernberg-Gostenhof, young Alexander Abusch experiences World War I, the years of the imperialist atrocities, the year of the great turning point in the world, 1917, the revolutionary uproar of the large massive strikes of 1918 against the military policy of prolonging the war, and he receives the light beam of the new hope emitted by Spartacus and the just then founded KPD. All this stirs him into a positive restlessness of awakening to a new world of social justice and permanent peace that still has to be fought for. Among all the many social, pedagogical, psychological and aesthetic experiences conveyed to the reader here in an impressive language which yet does not shy away from the emotional, one should be

aware especially of the effect described that reading had, the full awakening of Abusch's love for a good book--belles-lettres and scientific literature, particularly the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Reading profoundly informed his personality, his mental productivity, through all of his life's phases and responsibilities. These passages in Abusch's memoirs furthermore provide enormously important and most pertinent information on the place of literature and that of reading in the intellectual education of the individual, not last in the instilling of sentiments. One statement of pure beauty summarizes Abusch's early relationship to literature: "Literature mentally prepared me for how the soil is loosened up to receive the seed" (p 39). A member of the youth groups around Karl Liebknecht at the age of 16, he becomes, barely 17, a founding member of the KPD, which constituted itself at the turn from 1918 to 1919. That this marks the beginning of incessant work on himself too, is insinuated by some self-interrogating flash-backs by the now fully mature and experienced. And here there comes then another sentence of the greatest importance to party education and socialist education in the broader sense: "But already it seemed to him (Author: Alexander Abusch is barely 20 years old) he had succeeded in keeping his dreams and ideals from turning into utopias or into a drive for a purely individualistic self-realization--and that instead the basic experience of his youth had tied him firmly into the large community of struggling men" (p 74).

The stations of his life that are presented in the next chapters show the responsible editor or editor-in-chief of several communist newspapers, the longest period with the legal and illegal "Red Flag." They also present the party worker Alexander Abusch working together with Ernst Thaelmann, Wilhelm Pieck, Walter Ulbricht, Franz Dähle, Wilhelm Florin, Theodor Neubauer, and Ernst Schneller. Described are the creative acquaintance and the start of the great friendship with Johannes R. Becher and many representatives of the progressive-humanistic, proletarian-revolutionary, socialist literature and art. The chapter, "The Experience of the Great Plan," is devoted to a trip by a delegation to the USSR at the time of the first Five-Year Plan (1930)--an account of utter plasticity in its impressions, somewhat like enrolling in the university of communist construction.

Alexander Abusch's presentation sets the features of many outstanding functionaries of the KPD and the communist world movement in bold relief. Especially the personalities of Ernst Thaelmann and Wilhelm Pieck, encountered in their revolutionary work, are fashioned into portraits of authentic accuracy and ardent cordiality in the chronologically written chapters of the book.

The increasing dynamics of the memoirs is no literary device employed by the writer but an expression of the enormous intensification of the class struggle in Germany and the world in the 1920's and 1930's. Thus the chapters in the second half of the book describe the contradictory developments that would lead to Hitler fascism and eventually to World War II. They document the KPD's truly gigantic struggle to avert fascism, create a united front and prevent war. And the book manages to meld the person of the narrator with the course of events, as the resolutions and measures and the needed new way of operating in the illegal KPD become, for a contemporary reader, a vivid demonstration of the invincibility in the struggle for the just cause. From the antifascist struggle on the Saar (1935) via the illegal Brussels and Bern party conferences of 1935 and 1939, to the eve and beginning of World War II, the memoirs draw a dramatic bow.



engendered by the course of events, presenting the reader, along with the heroics in the illegal struggle, also, inevitably, with the many different forms of stunning tragedy. It is altogether typical of this book that the individual human element finds itself heartfully suspended (in the sense of being positively preserved) in the objective historical, as for example, when the author among other things describes the tragic fate of his parents and relatives, or when he comes to talk about the inspired help the party gave to Anna Seghers to achieve an optimum conceptual-artistic quality in the novel "Das siebte Kreuz" [The Seventh Cross] she had just begun (cf. p 471).

The author does not shy away from taking a position in his memoirs on matters that are likely to be unavoidable concomitants of incisive revolutionary transformations: cases of reneging and betrayal. Here Alexander Abusch comes up with an ideological diagnosis which--however much subjective circumstances may modify it--essentially is, as a matter of principle, one of party-minded lucidity and accuracy: "There are many forms of mental betrayal that always appear when world political situations become tense. Traitors cannot forgive communism for also suffering defeat on its tough course and even requiring sacrifice. In that they find its 'errors,' but not the real ones, which the party, in Lenin's spirit, recognizes and corrects self-critically in good time" (p 452).

In this sense, the author makes no secret either of actual difficulties during sudden turns in politics, notably the period leading to World War II, when the USSR found itself compelled resolutely to use the contradictions among the imperialist states for the sake of protecting socialism. But also the unforeseeably fast collapse of French military resistance against Hitler's speedy tank wedges--facilitated by the obvious treason of anticommunist politicians and military--in 1940, confronted the communists, as the author shows, with entirely new tactical problems, which in the given situation initially led to a number of different answers. Without whitewashing these real problems, the book then also shows that, historically speaking, none but the Marxist-Leninist party with its firmness of principle can handle even the most complicated situations in the class struggle.

The title of the memoirs is taken from a Gestapo file found: "Der Deckname" (Abusch also used the names "Ernst Reinhardt," "Comrade Ernst," and "Ernst Bayer"). The book ends with a description of the situation in France after Hitler's "Lightning Victory" in 1940, and the author's attempt to join a different front of the anti-Hitler struggle, on party orders, by routes possibly still open--in the given case it was to be via the democratic, anti-fascist Mexico. The second volume of the memoirs (title: "Mit offenem Visier" [With Open Visor]) will describe that period among other things and the dramatic return, almost up to our republic's current socialist cultural policy. No doubt, after becoming familiar with the first volume, a reader is likely to look forward to the second with suspense.

With these memoirs by Alexander Abusch, our literature receives an important work completely clear and true in content, and in a form of austere beauty of presentation of history shared and fought for. It is an achievement that warrants using the force of revolutionary example contained in it fully for educating and steeling new generations of fighters in the spirit of the invincible cause of Marxism-Leninism.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SOVIET AMBASSADOR ABRASIMOV'S BOOK ON BERLIN REVIEWED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 2, Feb 82 (signed to press 13 Jan 82)  
pp 218-220

["West Berlin and Detente"--Review by Prof Dr Stefan Doernberg, director, Institute for International Relations, GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence; chairman, GDR Scientific Council for Foreign Policy Research; vice president, GDR Committee for European Security and Cooperation; on book "Westberlin gestern und heute" (West Berlin Yesterday and Today) by Soviet Ambassador Petr Abrasimov; published by Staatsverlag der DDR, East Berlin, 1981]

[Text] Signing the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin was among the most important events at the start of the detente process, which authoritatively fashioned international relations in the 1970's and the further extension of which is not only possible but urgently needed. In the course of the Cold War, West Berlin, due to the imperialist policy of confrontation and conflict instigation, had become a particularly neuralgic spot in Europe and the world beyond. Experiences gained in defusing that situation and signing the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin on 3 September 1971 mainly demonstrate how international accords can be reached on enforcing detente and settling complicated international conflicts and what place value such accords have with respect to further international development.

Petr Abrasimov's book, "Westberlin gestern und heute" (West Berlin Yesterday and Today), attests to that in having the reader mentally recapitulate the development of the West Berlin problem. That applies to the history that gave rise to it and its exacerbation in the 1950's and 1960's as to the efforts to find a solution, to the concrete course of the complicated and tense negotiations that led to the signing of the Quadripartite Agreement in 1971 as, finally, to the conflicts about strictly abiding by it. This book is persuasive, not only by the compelling cogency in the ideas expressed, accuracy, party-minded polemics and detail combining with having specific problems clearly embedded within the overall development of international conflict, but also by the effective journalistic manner of presentation, making the reader take part in the events, the negotiations and the conflicts.

The book conveys revealing insights into the work of a socialist diplomat who, representing his party and his state, was assigned to an important sector of the comprehensive international class struggle, and who is always aware of his high responsibility to his own people, the people of his host country, and all peoples in the socialist community.



For every good reason, the author writes: "Here, in and around West Berlin, many lines of world politics intersect and the interests of the four powers as well as of many other countries do. West Berlin formed a sort of 'neuralgic spot.' Complications over this spot would at once set in motion the complicated mechanism in the interactions of the whole system of international relations and immediately affect the political world climate as demonstrated among other things by the events of 1948 and 1961. Due to the policy of the Western powers, West Berlin was for many years among the most acute hotbeds of international tension and seriously obstructed the normalization of the situation in Europe and the world at large. West Berlin was a global problem. It contained an extensive set of issues tied up with solving pertinent, highly important practical problems to which many countries and the international public paid special attention" (p 12).

That West Berlin evolved into a hotbed of conflict of international range doubtless was caused and compelled by that many-layered problems bunched up here that were extremely tough to entangle. According to the strategic conceptions of the most aggressive NATO forces, West Berlin had received the function of an advanced bridgehead within the socialist community, a source of unrest, a center of intelligence and other subversive activities, mainly that of ideological diversion. An important place in the struggle the Soviet Union and its allies carried on to preserve the peace that had been jeopardized by aggressive imperialist policy, even since the end of the 1940's, was assigned to the many initiatives for normalizing the situation in and around West Berlin. Then, to be sure, they did not yet lead to the desired stable solution under international law and yet were a significant contribution to preventing a world conflagration.

Measures taken on 13 August 1961 by the GDR government in close concurrence with the USSR and other socialist states, were extremely important. Securing the GDR's border with West Berlin, consolidating the economic foundations and social relations in the socialist German state, and mainly the significant change of the international correlation of forces in favor of socialism helped start in the capitals of the three Western powers a reexamination process of their ideas about settling German affairs and the problem of east-west relations as such. The realization that negotiations were the only reasonable alternative for settling unresolved problems began to prevail. In West Berlin itself, more and more symptoms became apparent of a more realistic approach to the developmental prospects of this city and of the opportunities and needs to draw West Berlin into the process of international detente, above all into ensuring European security and co-operation.

West Berlin, as Petr Abrasimov emphasizes, had developed into "a specific administrative-territorial community, a city in its own right with its own status, a special structure unequalled in international practice on the whole" (p 81). The respect and confirmation of this reality had become the only possible starting point to get to propitious agreements by which to safeguard the interests of all states affected, mainly also those of the GDR, in the midst of whose territory West Berlin is located, and also, not last, the interests of the West Berlin population itself.

"The indefatigable efforts of the Soviet Union finally bore fruit. The basic issues pertaining to West Berlin were settled in the Quadripartite Agreement, signed on 3 September 1971, which contained well-balanced rules of advantage to all sides and made an important contribution to ensuring peace and security in Europe. The Quadripartite Agreement was a compromise; its strategic goal was to normalize the situation around West Berlin by placing the situation that had actually arisen in this area under international law. And the goal was attained. West Berlin stopped functioning as fuel for international tension" (p 12). The core of the agreement was the ruling of principle that the Western sectors would "continue to be no parts of the FRG, nor governed by it" (p. 184). It is equally significant that the agreement concretely addresses only the Western sectors, which also then clearly delineates the substance of the agreement. The signers of the agreement emphatically endorse the sovereignty of the GDR, mainly also in its exercising its sovereign rights with respect to the development of connections between West Berlin and the FRG and other states.

The negotiations among the representatives of the Soviet Union, France, Great Britain and the United States in 1970 and 1971, and the signing of the Quadripartite Agreement and its implementation, far exceed in importance the in itself highly significant settling of the West Berlin problem. Abrasimov's work once again makes clear that through the Quadripartite Agreement, through coping with an extremely complicated and difficult matter, the need and possibility of a policy of peaceful coexistence and detente was demonstrated. The negotiations themselves, and especially their outcome, confirm that even the most difficult problems in international relations can be resolved at a mutual advantage when there is a political will to do so. In this it is an indispensable requirement that all participants show a readiness for compromise, based on an objective analysis of the participants' interests.

The key for success lay in the Soviet Union's position of principle on defusing and resolving the West Berlin issue and in the combination between firmness of principle and elasticity marking the Soviet negotiating team. The governments of France, Great Britain and the United States and their representatives doubtless contributed to the success of the negotiations. Delays, however, occurred time and time again because influential circles made attempts to bargain for unilateral advantages and pose unacceptable conditions. And then there were efforts made by certain circles in the FRG to misuse the negotiations on West Berlin as leverage for, as it were, constraining the GDR's sovereignty through the back-door and obtaining a vested right to being able to continue and manipulate West Berlin as a means of pressure for neorevanchist claims. These efforts, as well as the hopes to be able to drive a wedge--even the slightest--between the USSR and the GDR, foundered miserably.

The negotiations on signing the West Berlin agreement were a model, as it were, for the closely coordinated foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the GDR and received new impulses from the peace program announced at the 24th CPSU Congress and the peace concept of the Eighth SED Congress which is identical with it. "We worked together fruitfully with the leadership of the SED and the GDR and conferred on all questions that arose," Comrade Abrasimov writes. "That followed not only from the directives I had received as member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR ambassador, but also from our attitude of principle toward the fraternal

parties and countries. Not one step pertaining to German affairs and West Berlin was taken without consideration for the view of our German friends. We spent countless hours with Comrade Erich Honecker, the members of the SED Central Committee Politburo and the GDR ministers discussing constantly arising questions. Such fraternal cooperation was a precept for the successful implementation of Soviet foreign policy, especially for resolving issues that had to do with German and West Berlin affairs--let alone our developing direct relations with the GDR" (pp 65-66).

Since it came into force, the Quadripartite Agreement has on the whole proven a reliable instrument to end the permanent and perilous crisis around West Berlin. The search for a balance of interests, for well-balanced agreements at mutual advantage and reciprocally preventing damage has become an organic component of the policy of peaceful coexistence and detente, which turns it into something new brought into international relations by the foreign policy of socialism. The traditional methods and goals of imperialist foreign policy stand in contradiction to it. Representatives of capitalist states keep having trouble in taking the realities of our era into account. And when the international situation becomes more tense especially there comes more of a pressure for returning to old forms of behavior. When influential NATO circles in the second half of the 1970's went into their confrontation policy, the West Berlin agreement also was variously infringed, especially by attempts at testing the stress it could take and undermining its key provisions by dealing with West Berlin as if it were de facto a Land of the FRG.

The effort to abide strictly by the Quadripartite Agreement, especially in situations where new tensions arise elsewhere, demands constant attention from the USSR, the GDR and their allies. Once again as in all other cases, the Soviet Union and the GDR have demonstrated the loyalty to agreements by socialist states. They have done what they could to preserve completely all the positive that was achieved through the Quadripartite Agreement and, in fact, to develop its inherent possibilities further. With it, they resolutely rule out any violation of the agreement. That is in the interest of all people "to whom peace and quiet are dear in this part of Europe," because, Petr Abramimov affirms, "life itself and practice convincingly prove that the Quadripartite Agreement, balancing the interests of all participants, can function normally only if one relates to it carefully and cautiously. And that means, all sides have to respect the spirit and letter of the agreement precisely, regardless of whether they like it or not" (p 166).

It attests to the great value of the Quadripartite Agreement that 10 years after it came into effect the respect for its provisions, and thus the usefulness of this agreement for ensuring security in Central Europe, are predominant. Yet we must continue in our efforts to stabilize these effects, ruling out new complications in West Berlin affairs. "The USSR and the GDR do what they can to have the Quadripartite Agreement function successfully. They seek no unilateral advantages, let alone confrontation with the West, neither in West Berlin nor because of West Berlin. That kind of approach they are entitled to expect of the Western side as well" (p 182).

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SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 2, Feb 82 (signed to press 13 Jan 82)  
'Resumes' addendum

Socialist Agriculture, Forestry and Foodstuffs Industry in Step With 1980's

[Summary of 'Our Agriculture in the 1980's' feature article by Werner Felfe, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary for agriculture; pp 130-138. A translation of this article is published under the heading, SED Calls for Agricultural Production Consolidation in 1980's," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] Relying on the cooperative farmers and the workers in agriculture, forestry and the foodstuffs industry for making a positive contribution to our economic balance sheet, and in preparation for the 12th Farmers Congress, the tasks of that contribution are presented for the high performance improvement that is needed, as analyzed at the Third Central Committee plenum. What is mainly needed is a better performance in the field and in the stables with a more favorable cost/benefit ratio. To that end, it is necessary comprehensively to use science and technology, consolidate the LPG's and VEG's, deepen cooperation, and continue the use of all forms of cooperative democracy.

The New LPG Law--Important Basis for Continued Implementation of SED's Agricultural Policy

[Summary of 'Our Agriculture in the 1980's' feature article by Heinz Kuhrig, GDR minister for agriculture, forestry and foodstuffs; member, SED Central Committee; pp 139-144. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Agriculture Minister on New LPG Law, Cooperative Farmer's Status," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] The 12th Farmers Congress of the GDR is first going to discuss extensively and then ratify the new LPG bill. What is its main concern? How does it take care of the SED's agricultural policy, the development of the class of the cooperative farmers, and the rural production relations?

Answers to these questions, based on an analysis of what has been accomplished, show that the cooperative farmers will in the future continue to create the prerequisites for reliably supplying the population and industry with their products.

#### Experiences From the Work of Our Cooperation Council

[Summary of 'Our Agriculture in the 1980's' feature article by Johannes Ruhnke, chairman, Agricultural Producer Cooperative for Crop Production (LPG/P), Berthelsdorf; and Heinz Ziegenbalg, chairman, Agricultural Producer Cooperative for Livestock Production (LPG/T), Grosshennersdorf; pp 145-149]

[Text] How does the working method of the cooperation council encourage the cooperation between crop and animal production, and how does its activity encourage the joint responsibility for the streamlined agricultural reproduction process? How should its work be organized, and what ideological and practical questions have to be resolved in that process? What new requirements are placed on its work? Devoted to those questions, the authors present experiences of the work on a cooperation council and point to good results achieved in the joint crop and animal production effort.

#### Cooperative Facilities and Cooperative Democracy

[Summary of 'Our Agriculture in the 1980's' feature article by Eva Hempel, member, SED Central Committee; first secretary, SED Schwerin-Land Kreis Management; pp 150-153]

[Text] Cooperative facilities are of great weight to the agricultural performance improvement required. How do the LPG's and their cooperation partners fulfill their duty of joint responsibility for the cooperative facilities' activities? What role is assigned here to the functionaries' assemblies, and which ideological issues have to be settled? Experiences are conveyed about this from the work of the functionaries' assemblies in Schwerin-Land Kreis.

#### Higher Standards of Social Responsibility for Our Agricultural Sciences

[Summary of 'Our Agriculture in the 1980's' feature article by Prof Dr Erich Ruebensam, member, SED Central Committee; president, GDR Academy of Agricultural Sciences; pp 154-160]

[Text] Implementing the main task in the 1980's calls for a large agricultural performance boost relying on further advances in intensification. It heightens the social responsibility of our agricultural sciences. On that basis the tasks are discussed for accelerating scientific-technical progress.



especially for a broader reproduction of soil fertility, mainly that of organic substances, in creating new crop and animal varieties, preparing modern production methods, and a more rapid application of scientific-technical data.

#### The 'Food Weapon' in US Global Strategy's Arsenal

[Summary of 'Our Agriculture in the 1980's' feature article by Dr Horst Schilling, department head, GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics; pp 161-167]

[Text] To representatives of U.S. imperialism, foodstuffs are "more powerful weapons than guided missiles or a warhead." Combined with showing off its military power and with shamelessly exploiting starvation in developing countries, which imperialism has caused, Washington is employing that weapon to make its world domination interests prevail. Blackmail pressures are exercised against progressive developments, while reactionary, terrorist and counterrevolutionary forces are being backed. Thwarting this "food power" strategy calls for the cooperation of all progressive forces and high achievements by socialist agriculture.

#### Produce More With Less Expenditure

[Summary of article by Siegfried Porache, engineer, general director, VEB Combine for Roller Bearings and Standard Parts; pp 168-172]

[Text] The thriftiest use of energy, material and raw materials is a mission for the fulfillment of which each manager bears all the more of a high responsibility in view of the altered conditions. How are these factors of intensification effectively being tapped today and with a view to the future in the VEB Combine for Roller Bearings and Standard Parts? How is the work, relying on the initiatives of all working people, being organized in accordance with the new intensification criteria? On what must a long-term material and refinement conception be based to maintain top positions on the world market even beyond 1985?

#### VEB Combine for Roller Bearings and Standard Parts

Producer of joints, roller bearings, chains and springs with a work force of 26,000. Its 550,000 products are used mainly in the motor vehicle industry and in plant and machine construction.

The combine includes 22 production enterprises, one foreign trade enterprise, one ADP center, a centralized plant for means of rationalization construction, and one for design and research.

High-grade products are exported to 20 different countries. There are close ties with all producers of roller bearings in the CEMA countries. Reciprocal deliveries are correlated with them; scientific-technical tasks are jointly organized.

As the most important combine in the ancillary industry, it has a great responsibility for meeting the requirements of the end producers.

#### Legacy of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in Struggle for Peace

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Annelies Laschitza, sector chief, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee; pp 180-186]

[Text] In the struggle against imperialism, militarism and war, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg left us with an inheritance which today, when safeguarding peace has become the fundamental task of mankind, has become a compelling legacy to us for doing all we can to banish world war from international life. The breadth of their realization ranges from their focusing on the international workers class as the main force, via their seeking a broad, all-inclusive anti-militarist movement, to linking time-tested means with new methods in the peace struggle, all the way to the early signs of a socialist peace policy alongside Soviet power emerging just then in the fire of the Red October.

#### Imperialist 'Policy of Strength'--A Dangerous Delusion

[Summary of article by Dr Peter Stechmesser, staff employee, SED Central Committee; pp 187-196]

[Text] Has the development of humanity impotently been caught in the "infernal arms race cycle" with all its perilous consequences, as the most aggressive circles of imperialism are apt to suggest? In confronting the "ideology of strength," which aims to bestow some pseudo-legitimacy on the imperialist "policy of strength," the evidence provided in the article is this: That which was novel in principle when socialism brought it to international affairs in our era provides mankind, branded with wars for centuries, with justified hope for permanently stabilizing peace through the peoples' energetic struggle.

#### Wall Street, Pentagon and Their Pets

[Summary of 'The World of Capital Today' feature article by Werner Flach, department head, GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics; pp 197-202]

[Text] Going cahoots with the reactionary regimes installed, fostered and protected by Washington has been and is an essential component of the expansionist policy of U.S. imperialism

as it aims for supremacy in the world. Their relentless terror against their own peoples and against progressive developments in other countries, their strategic locations, military potentials and natural resources are turning regimes like the Latin American dictatorships, the South Africa apartheid state, the aggressor Israel and the South Korean puppet regime into preferred alliance partners of the chief imperialist power.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

'COMMON CLASS FEATURES' BETWEEN RELIGION, MARXISM EMPHASIZED

East Berlin DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE in German Vol 30 No 1, Jan 82 (signed to press 2 Nov 81) pp 114-120

['Discussion' feature article by Dr Franz Loeser, prof emeritus, Department of Theory and Organization of Science, Humboldt University, East Berlin: "On Epistemic Problems of Faith"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee report to the 26th Party Congress contained a critical discussion by Leonid Brezhnev about political activities for the masses. He found fault with the fact that big propaganda opportunities are not being fully utilized, that the forms of political activities affecting the masses are almost paralyzed, that propaganda is afraid of touching on delicate topics and raising difficult questions and inadequately prepared to convey questions in a manner that is effective with the masses. He explicitly demanded a reorganization of many areas of ideological work to increase their effect on the masses and make them correspond to the growing expectations of Soviet citizens.<sup>1</sup> Erich Honecker made a similar statement during the 10th SED Congress: "It has always been the best policy--knowing the superiority of our good cause--to explain a situation exactly as it is, even during complicated periods, without circumventing the difficulties."<sup>2</sup> "We are dealing with knowledgeable, intelligent people who are not satisfied with generalities and slogans. They expect comprehensive information and pertinent arguments, to be able to orient themselves properly."<sup>3</sup>

The fact that the increase in mass effectiveness of ideological activities is a vital question for society received special emphasis in the politburo resolution of the SED Central Committee, "Future Tasks for the Party's Political Activities for the Masses."<sup>4</sup> An increase in the mass effectiveness of ideological activities, however, requires, among other things, the specific research into the transformation of theoretical knowledge into practical-political actions. Consequently the following statement can be found in the above-mentioned resolution by the politburo of the SED Central Committee: "Our social scientists should place more importance on...exploring the scientific foundations of political mass activities, particularly by agitators and through propaganda."<sup>5</sup> But to date there have been far too few philosophers who have followed this challenge by our party. One of the few praiseworthy exceptions is Dieter Wittich and his article, "Marxism-Leninism as a Theoretical and a Practiced Ideology."<sup>6</sup> Another article, "On the Structure

of Practiced Ideology" by B. Okun, which is based on D. Wittich's work, continues the efforts of exploring the process of transition from ideological knowledge to conscious, political actions.<sup>7</sup>

It is certainly understandable that the common struggle by philosophers and other scientists to comprehend more accurately this enormously complicated and partially still unexplored process of knowledge can also lead to diverse opinions. The decisive factor, however, is a clarification of differences of opinion and a discussion of these opinions by the party in a fair and constructive manner and mutual assistance in the effort to continue the creative development and effectiveness of our Marxist-Leninist philosophy in this area. In my opinion, B. Okun's remark is therefore of little help. He was referring to my thesis on the effect of a scientifically based socialist faith as a basis of knowledge for conscious socialist actions, as an important phase of knowledge during the process of transformation from the theoretical to the practiced Marxist-Leninist ideology. In a footnote to the above-mentioned article Okun stated: "F. Loeser...is introducing an irrational trait into the discussion which, in my opinion, is unnecessary."<sup>8</sup> Irrationalism would not only be "unnecessary" for our discussion; being one of the most reactionary imperialist ideologies, it is incompatible with our philosophy. The question to be discussed here is: Is it a case of a linguistic error, an attempt to cling to an outdated category--no longer suitable for our purposes--when the word "faith" is used to express socialist aspects of consciousness, something I have done, but it is also widespread in our socialist literature as well as in our spoken language? Or does this concept also have scientific justification in socialism?

The opinion expressed in the "Philosophisches Woerterbuch" [Philosophical Dictionary] is widespread in our literature of the social sciences. Accordingly, faith exists exclusively in its religious form, and the belief in the existence of a supernatural being is in irreconcilable opposition to science and being misused for reactionary purposes of imperialism.<sup>9</sup> But to restrict the concept of faith exclusively to its reactionary religious form is in contradiction to the social as well as the cognitive practice. There are innumerable examples for the significance of a scientifically based faith in the struggle of the proletariat as well as in the life of our socialist society. Here are merely a few examples. From his death cell in Ploetzensee, shortly before his execution by the fascists, the communist resistance fighter Harro Schulze-Boysen wrote to his parents: "...I do not only hope, I believe that time will relieve your suffering....Believe with me that the just time will come when everything will come to fruition!" Juergen Kuczynski is writing in this "just time": "But in my opinion it is wrong not to want to talk about a Marxist faith, for instance, in the final victory of socialism.... At any rate, I would like to speak quite openly about my faith in the world victory of socialism...."<sup>10</sup> During the process of educating socialist personalities, particularly in our military training, the "faith in our socialist fatherland," the "faith in the victory of socialism" and similar concepts are used again and again. Even in the documents of the party of the working class, the concept of faith has played a significant role from the beginning of the labor movement until the present day. In 1847 the first Congress of the Communist League passed the "draft of the communist creed," which, on good authority, was written by Friedrich Engels.



This "communist creed" was the starting point for the "Communist Manifesto" and introduced the first Marxist discussion in the history of the labor movement for the preparation of a party program. During the 26th CPSU Congress Leonid Brezhnev said: "It is important to develop a style of work which combines in an organic manner willingness to participate and discipline with bold initiative and enterprising spirit, practical thinking and objectivity with the orientation toward big goals, critical attitudes toward shortcomings with the unshakable belief in the historic advantages of the road chosen by us."<sup>11</sup>

In philosophical circles there have also been moves to counter the attempts or restricting faith to its religious form. G. Claus wrote: "Faith and creditability are by no means limited to religious statements. There is a faith based on reason, a faith in the truth of statements, in the truth of theories, etc."<sup>12</sup> In its definition of the term "faith," the "Kleines Woerterbuch der marxistisch-leninistischen Philosophie" [Small Dictionary of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy] makes a distinction between religious and theoretical faith. Theoretical faith is defined as follows: "Such a faith is based on reliable knowledge which has already been examined and on practical experiences. It plays an important role with respect to the orientation for practical actions and attitudes, especially in the class struggle."<sup>13</sup> It may suffice to demonstrate that in our literature the thesis of a scientifically based socialist faith is by no means considered as irrelevant or even irrational as might be gathered from B. Okun's remark.

As far as my own opinion is concerned, there are at least two reasons why I feel that it is wrong to limit faith exclusively to religious faith, which is being misused by imperialism for its own purposes. First of all, this restriction robs the progressive religious forces of their theoretical and ideological foundation in their struggle against imperialism and for world peace. Second, it relinquishes the category of faith without a struggle to its class enemy and therefore withholds from the socialist society a very important means of knowledge to master the environment.

Concerning the first point: There is no doubt that religious faith as an ideology of the exploiting classes is a wrong reflection of objective reality, irreconcilably opposed to science, and to this date its role has been markedly reactionary. The question remains, however, whether this characterization applies indiscriminately to every religious faith and beyond that to faith in general. To answer this question with respect to religious faith, one can rely on the works of the classic writers, particularly the works by F. Engels about early Christianity. Engels represented the view that the nature of religion and its faith must be explained historically, and accordingly it cannot be characterized indiscriminately as reactionary or simply as a false reflection. "A religion which subjugated the Roman Empire and dominated the greater part of civilized mankind for 1800 years cannot simply be dismissed by declaring that it is some kind of nonsense put together by impostors. The only way one can deal with it is by trying to understand and explain its origin and its development from the historic conditions under which it was established and came to power."<sup>14</sup> Proceeding from an historical analysis of religion, Engels shows that the Christian religion and its faith

as an ideology of the oppressed emerged during their struggle against exploitation, and on the basis of its class character under these historic conditions they were of a revolutionary nature. "The history of early Christianity offers remarkable points of contact with the modern labor movement, which, as was the case with early Christianity, was originally a movement of the oppressed..."<sup>15</sup> "Christianity, like all the other big revolutionary movements, was created by the masses."<sup>16</sup>

Therefore, if one wants to characterize religious faith, one must consider the historical conditions that existed when it began, whether it is an expression of the class interests of the oppressed or the ideology of the exploiters. In accordance with its differing class character, faith also demands a differentiating characterization. With respect to the faith of the early Christians Engels said: "The faith of these combative early congregations is of a totally different nature than the one of the later victorious church..."<sup>17</sup> Consequently there is no doubt that the religious faith of early Christianity as an ideology of the oppressed masses is certainly not reactionary but it definitely has progressive characteristics. The same applies in a similar manner to the corresponding Jewish faith. One need only be reminded of the Jewish prophets Isaiah and Micah (about 700 B.C.), spokesmen for the people who called attention to the exploitation, corruption and the class justice of their time: "Hear this, I pray you, ye heads of the house of Jacob and princes of the house of Israel, that abhor judgment and pervert all equity. They build up Zion with blood and Jerusalem with iniquity. The heads thereof judge for reward and the priests thereof teach for hire, and the prophets thereof divine for money."<sup>18</sup> The writings of these Jewish prophets provide us also with the religious faith in the coming kingdom of peace: "And they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: Nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."<sup>19</sup> What Marxist would want to insist that religious faith in this form is reactionary and, although he himself has not yet been able to present a scientifically based consciousness, incompatible with scientific methods? This humanistic religious faith, as an ideology of progressive classes, anticipates to some extent the scientific realization of a classless society, in which there will be no more wars.

The struggle between a humanistic, progressive religious faith and the reactionary religious faith--the confrontation between the faith of the oppressed on one hand and the faith of the official church as an instrument of power of the ruling class on the other hand--is visible throughout the entire history of Christianity. Ambrose, the Hussites, Thomas Muentzer or, in our time, Pastor Niemöller, the "red deacon," Dr Hewlett Johnson, Dr Martin Luther King or Ben Chavis, Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Emil Fuchs--the difference between their faith and the faith of religious ideologists of the monopoly of capital is like day and night. In several Third World countries, freedom movements and revolutionary struggles are currently operating on the ideological basis of a religious faith. Leonid Brezhnev's comment was: "Of late, active Islamic slogans have been proclaimed by a few countries of the East. As communists we respect the religious convictions of the people of the Islamic faith as we do other religions. The main thing is, what are the goals

that are being pursued by those forces who are propagating various slogans. Under the banner of Islam the struggle for liberation can unfold. There are experiences in history which are proof of it, including the most recent ones. But they also show that the reactionary forces are operating with Islamic slogans too, instigating counterrevolutionary riots. Consequently it is important to determine what the real substance is of this or that movement."<sup>20</sup>

Like all the other ideological manifestations in a class society, religious faith has a class character as well. It can be progressive or reactionary, depending on the class interest which it represents. The humanistic, progressive religious faith is born during the struggle of the popular masses against exploiters and oppressors. These common class traits, which in spite of ideological and philosophical differences--which I will discuss later--create a firm bond in the struggle between the representatives of the humanistic, progressive religious faith and the Marxist-Leninists.

An indiscriminate characterization of religious faith as something reactionary and incompatible with scientific methods is not only in conflict with a scientific analysis of religious faith but also with the political necessity of our time. Today the international peace movement is faced with the task of mobilizing the broadest segment of the world population, including the people of religious faith, for the struggle for peace and against imperialism. Particularly the humanistic, progressive traits of religious faith are offering important ideological prerequisites for winning also the religiously oriented people for this common struggle of mankind and for fighting the reactionary religious faith, which is inseparably interwoven with the imperialist ideology.

With respect to the second point, the question concerning the essence of a scientifically based socialist faith: My definition of faith as an epistemic category in the most general sense is not something that is based on certainty but on a certain probability and the assumption that a piece of information is true (false). Such an assumption can be formed when the truth of the information in question cannot be proven or verified with certainty by the discerning subject.

The fact that the truth of the information has not been proven with certainty may be related to certain principles. Predictions for the future, for instance, cannot always be proven with certainty, consequently their truth content takes on a probability character. On the other hand, the expense of verifying certain information relative to its use can be so great that proving its truth is unjustified and it is left undone. No practical process of thinking, including the socialist one, provides an opportunity for the discerning subject to rely only on proven or personally verified knowledge when he deals with his environment. A great deal of information that is required, cannot be proven as being true or it cannot be verified independently. If the discerning subject would try to get along with nothing but proven or personally verified knowledge, his intellectual capacity would be so limited that it would not be able to master its environment adequately. It applies to the ordinary as well as to the scientific consciousness. Nevertheless,

although faith is ordinarily related to the everyday consciousness, it plays an indispensable role in scientific consciousness, for instance, in the form of a hypothesis. Without the hypothesis, i.e. the assumption that a thesis is true or false, although neither its truth nor its falsehood was established, many scientific problems could not be solved. A properly used faith, as the justified assumption of the truth (falsehood) of an unproven piece of information, is therefore an indispensable cognitive means for the subject to master his environment.

An interesting question which arises in this connection is whether the scientifically based socialist faith will be curtailed in its effectiveness. Juergen Kuczynski, who represents such an opinion, writes the following: "Herbert Hoerz, who was kind enough to make critical remarks about this manuscript, is doubting my thesis that faith will play a smaller and smaller role in our ideology..."<sup>21</sup> Since there is a trend, according to which the amount of proven and verified information grows as society moves into more and more sophisticated formations, Juergen Kuczynski is probably right in this respect. But that is only one trend. The continuing upward development of society also means that because of increasing complications in social interactions, a more and more comprehensive division of labor as well as the growing complexity of special development processes for the individual, the amount of knowledge which cannot be verified or proven by the subject himself increases simultaneously and steadily. Therefore, seen as a whole, the scientifically based faith will assume a large and steadily growing role on the road to communism and in the communist society, in everyday consciousness and also scientific thinking. In my opinion, Herbert Hoerz's doubts about the thesis represented by Juergen Kuczynski seem therefore justified.

Whenever socialist faith is mentioned, it is imperative to remember how it differs in specifics and qualitatively from religious faith, including the humanist, progressive religious faith. In contrast to religious faith, socialist faith is based on scientific findings. The socialist faith in the victory of communism on a worldwide scale, for instance, has its foundation in the knowledge of the laws of social development. From the historical point of view, the socialist faith as an expression of the interests of the working class is the first form of faith which is consistently based on the knowledge of the laws of nature, of society and of thoughts, in other words, it is the first form of a universal scientifically based faith. Beyond that and in contrast to religious faith, the socialist faith does not represent a system of dogmas, but it is a phase in the process of knowledge which will lead to conscious socialist actions. Nevertheless, the significance of the socialist faith for the transformation of theoretical knowledge into conscious socialist actions can only be understood properly if one investigates its cognitive relations to doubt and to conviction. Below are a few brief remarks on "

In Greek antiquity, faith (doxa) was opposed to true knowledge (episteme). Doubt (sceptsis) was considered a means of cognition assisting in the process of getting from faith to true knowledge. This opinion contains a very important realization. Doubt, dialectically seen, i.e. "not mere negation... but negation as an aspect of interrelationships, an aspect of development, while preserving the positive,"<sup>22</sup> possesses indeed great significance for



the cognitive process and the transformation of theoretical knowledge into practical actions. Doubt as interpreted by Lenin is the realization that a piece of information which is considered true (false) may in reality not be true (false) at all. The proper use of doubt is therefore a crucial cognitive prerequisite for overcoming outdated knowledge and gaining new knowledge which could lead to a higher level of actions.<sup>23</sup> But the mistake to see doubt and faith as irreconcilable opposites and to overemphasize the cognitive function of doubt—something that is practiced by philosophical scepticism—does not only lead to a kind of absolutism and an overrating of doubt, but it also causes a devaluation and negation of faith. Doubt as a means of gaining knowledge and as a cognitive basis for actions can only be directed at strictly limited areas and levels of the cognitive object, while—in reciprocity—faith must play a crucial role for many aspects of the cognitive object. The justified socialist faith provides an opportunity to utilize in a meaningful manner important pieces of information, the truth of which cannot be proven or doubted but which are indispensable for mastering the environment. Even though the subject has to doubt fundamental premises to be active in a creative manner, he will necessarily have to believe simultaneously in many other premises.

Faith and doubt form two necessary and reciprocally dependent sides of the united dialectic cognitive process. The history of philosophy shows that if doubt is negated and faith is made absolute, it will lead to dogmatism. If doubt is made absolute and faith rejected, the consequence is scepticism and nihilism. Only a properly applied interchange between faith and doubt can preserve the dialectic character of the cognitive process and lead to optimal actions.

The fact that faith is an indispensable cognitive foundation for practical actions must not cover up the fact that it always contains a risk because it is an assumption of the unproven truth of a piece of information.<sup>24</sup> If it is not the right faith, for instance, it can lead to a serious disorientation of the subject. This possibility of disorientation of a human being through the consciously steered misuses of faith was recognized only too well by all the exploiting classes in history. Here one can find decisive, class-oriented and epistemic sources for the conscious development of the reactionary religious faith and the scientifically concocted imperialistic manipulation of faith. But because of its inherent risks, even the scientifically based socialist faith offers by no means an adequate cognitive foundation for the actions of man in all situations of life. In many situations, in addition to proven knowledge, the subject needs as a prerequisite for his actions some knowledge, the truth of which he convinced himself personally. Proceeding from faith, conviction is formed within the believer by personally examining what he believes while engaged in practical activities. In other words: Through the verification of the assumption of the unproven truth of a piece of information, faith can either be refuted or it can be strengthened and develop into a conviction. This process shows that compared to faith, conviction represents a higher degree of cognition. Socialist faith as a preliminary form of socialist conviction changes into the socialist conviction just as much as the socialist conviction can create prerequisites for the establishment of a new socialist faith on a higher, iterative plain of cognition.



I therefore reject tendencies of considering conviction of "socialist counterpart" to faith, more or less a "replacement" for a form of consciousness which allegedly has become outdated and is of no use. Both socialist faith and socialist conviction, two crucial components of consciousness which must be given the utmost attention when training socialist personalities and instilling conscious socialist actions, are necessary like two sides of a socialist consciousness depending on each other. If one of these two components is neglected, the other one is damaged as well and along with it the entire educational process. Consequently Juergen Kuczynski must be fully supported when he writes: "In my opinion the doctrine of faith has been neglected by our philosophers--with very rare exceptions....I think that we should...demand... that our philosophers conduct a thorough investigation into the role of faith in society, including the socialist society...."<sup>25</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. CPSU Central Committee Report and Future Tasks of the Party in Domestic and Foreign Policies. Reporter: L. I. Brezhnev, Berlin, 1981, p 102 ff.
2. SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress. Reporter: E. Honecker, Berlin, 1981, p 137.
3. Ibid., p 141.
4. Die weiteren Aufgaben der politischen Massenarbeit der Partei [Future Tasks for the Party's Political Activities for the Masses], Berlin, 1977.
5. Ibid., p 85 f., see also: F. Loeser, "Philosophische Probleme der Populaerwissenschaft" [Philosophical Problems of Popular Science], DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, No 2, 1978.
6. D. Wittich, Der Marxismus-Leninismus als theoretische und als praktizierte Weltanschauung" [Marxism-Leninism as Theoretical and Practiced World View], DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, No 10, 1979.
7. Cf. B. Okun, "Zur Struktur und Entwicklung praktizierter Weltanschauung" [About the Structure and Development of a Practiced World View], DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, No 1, 1981.
8. Ibid., p 83. With respect to my opinions on the category of faith see: F. Loeser, "Der Glaube als logische und heuristische Kategorie" [Faith as a Logical and Heuristic Category], WISSENSCHAFTLICHE ZEITSCHRIFT DER HUMBOLDT-UNIVERSITAET ZU BERLIN. Social and Linguistic Series, No 5, 1977, F. Loeser and D. Schulze, "Schoepfertum in der Zwangsjacke?" [Creativity in Straitjacket?], Berlin, 1980, p 33 f., F. Loeser, "Ein Traeumer, der keiner war" [A Dreamer Who Was no Dreamer], DIE WELTBUEHNE, No 2, 1979.
9. See: PHILOSOPHISCHES WOERTERBUCH, edited by G. Klaus and M. Buhr, Vol 2, Leipzig, 1976, p 1052 f.

10. J. Kuczynski, "Studien zu einer Geschichte der Gesellschaftswissenschaften" [Studies About the History of Social Sciences], Berlin, 1977, Vol 5, p 72.
11. CPSU Central Committee Report and Future Tasks of the Party in Domestic and Foreign Policies, op. cit., p 69 (Emphasis is mine--F.L.).
12. C. Klaus, "Die Macht des Wortes" [The Power of the Word], Berlin, 1968, p 143.
13. Kleines Woerterbuch der marxistisch-leninistischen Philosophie [Small Dictionary of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy], edited by M. Buhr and A. Kosing, Berlin, 1962, p 145.
14. F. Engels, "Bruno Bauer und das Urchristentum" [Bruno Bauer and Early Christianity], K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, Vol 19, Berlin, 1962, p 297 f.
15. F. Engels, "Zur Geschichte des Urchristentums" [On the History of Early Christianity], K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, Vol 22, Berlin, 1963, p 449.
16. F. Engels, "Das Buch der Offenbarung" [The Book of Revelations], K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, Vol 21, Berlin, 1962, p 10.
17. F. Engels, "Zur Geschichte des Urchristentums," op. cit., p 471.
18. The Bible, Micah 3, Berlin, 1965, p 959.
19. Ibid., Micah 4, p 959.
20. CPSU Central Committee Report and Future Tasks of the Party in Domestic and Foreign Policies, op. cit., p 19.
21. J. Kuczynski, op. cit., p 72.
22. W.I. Lenin, "Konspekt zu Hegels 'Wissenschaft der Logik'" [Conspectus to Hegel's 'Science of Logic'], W. I. Lenin, Works, Vol 38, Berlin, 1964, p 218.
23. See also: F. Loeser and D. Schulze, "Erkenntnistheoretische Fragen einer Kreativitaetslogik" [Epistemic Questions of a Creativity Logic], Berlin, 1976, p 88 f.
24. Concerning mathematical modeling of the risk of faith cf., F. Loeser and D. Schulze, "Schoepfertum in der Zwangsjacke?" op. cit., p 37 ff.
25. J. Kuczynski, op. cit., p 72.

8991

CSO: 2300/187

## AUSTRIAN CITIZEN'S EYEWITNESS REPORT ON SITUATION IN POLAND

AU231323 Vienna Domestic Service in German 0613 GMT 23 Mar 82

[Report by an Austrian who has been "regularly visiting" Poland lately and has "just returned" from Warsaw, Krakow and Gdansk, but "wants to remain anonymous," on his impressions--read by announcer]

[Text] Apparently the situation has calmed down. There are only a few military and police patrols, and only about half of the original road blocks are left; but those that have remained seem to have been made permanent. Sheds have been set up to provide accommodation, and traffic seems nearly back to normal, because rationed gasoline is obtainable, through bribing, also over and above the permitted quotas. Also rationed are foodstuffs and nearly all essential commodities, whose distribution has been taken over by military units. This, together with the trebling of prices of essential commodities early this year, has led to the queues at the shops--those perpetual signs of communist mismanagement--becoming shorter. The fact that these price increases have not yet led to the overthrow of the potentate, as happened in the cases of Gomulka and Gierek, is of course partly due to the iron fist of General Jaruzelski, but also to the trick of the authorities to pay an extra monthly salary as a one-time compensation for the price increases. Now, by the end of March, this money has been used up and increasing unrest is spreading.

However, the pay of military personnel was raised last week by 3,000 zlotys, and at the enterprises and in the administration the corrupt and inefficient functionaries, who had been dismissed as a result of the demand of "Solidarity," are now constantly being reinstalled in their former positions. The way in which the regime proceeds against "Solidarity" has changed: while in the first phase after the proclamation of martial law it was primarily the top leaders of "Solidarity" who were arrested, and strikes were broken by massive force, it is now increasingly also unimportant "Solidarity" members who are being harassed--arrested and questioned, and in many cases released again.

Nevertheless "Solidarity" has succeeded in again organizing itself in small cells. It owes this to a large extent to the Church, which fully supports it and helps it with its organization wherever it can. For example, if a Solidarity member has to attend a secret meeting in a neighboring village, a priest who hardly needs to fear any controls takes him there in his car. The activities of "Solidarity" consist in supporting the families of the interned,

the dissemination of leaflets, and acts of--thus far--only symbolic resistance. On one occasion, for example, "Solidarity" called for buying many many copies of the party paper, then throwing them on the floor and trampling on them, which was actually done everywhere.

In the leaflets it is reported, for example, that food and drinks offered by police during questioning contain drugs designed to weaken the mental powers of resistance. From circles close to Lech Walesa it was learned that he is unwaveringly advocating the cause of his people vis-a-vis the regime. Walesa demands the release of all internees, termination of martial law, legalization of "Solidarity", return of its property, and access to his--primarily intellectual--advisers. Only then, he says, will he be ready to negotiate with the regime, with the aim of making "Solidarity" an organization confining itself to purely trade unionist activities and abstaining from any political activities.

Regarding the internment camps it was learned that the treatment there is now relatively good. The camp inmates are allowed to receive packages and occasional visits by their families. To avoid any possibility of exchanges of information with the outside world--especially with the newly forming "Solidarity"--through guard personnel, both the detainees and their guards are constantly transferred to other camps. Another method that is being employed is shuffling the camp inmates according to their social background. The large number of miners among the interned is quite striking--a sign that the resistance in the Silesian coal districts was particularly strong. The committees for the support of the internees, that are operating with the aid of the Church, claim that 5-10 percent of camp inmates are spies of the regime.

The relatively good treatment of the internees does not apply to 2 camps: Strzelce Opolskie and Ostrow Wielkopolski, where the very hard core of the resistance are interned. Unheated rooms, poor food and no access to the International Red Cross are to punish the detainees for their advocacy of freedom in a communist dictatorship. In Ostrow Wielkopolski, 42 detainees went on hunger strike on 8 March, firmly determined to end it only when their demands for abolition of martial law, release of the internees and legalization of "Solidarity" are fulfilled.

CSO: 2 300/209

## BRIEFS

DISCREPANCIES IN DEGREE PLANNING--During 1976-1980 there were 18,837 doctoral degrees conferred in Poland. A report entitled "Training cadres with academic degrees in Polish Academy of Sciences institutions" reveals that 1,077 people, i.e. 5.7 percent of the total number, defended their dissertations in the Polish Academy of Sciences during this period. This is basically in accordance with the established plan, although the extent of its implementation differs in individual sections. It turns out that in the Social Sciences Section, for example, there were 27 percent fewer doctorates awarded than planned, while there were 15 percent fewer in the Mathematical-Physical, Chemical and Geological Sciences Section, and 22 percent more in the Technical Sciences Section. Disproportions between forecasts and results are particularly evident in such disciplines as law, art history, philosophy, literary history and theory, and architecture, in which the number of conferred doctorates is approximately half of the planned number. This state of affairs is related primarily to a decrease in employment opportunities for specialists in these fields, to changes in the structure for financing individual institutions, different with respect to the originally planned directions of research, and to Poland's new socio-economic realities. In this connection, it is interesting that during 1976-1980 more doctorates were awarded in fields such as physiology, cybernetics, information science, environmental protection and mechanics. [Text] [by jaw] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Feb 82 p 5]

CSO: 2600/453



## ROMANIA

### BRIEFS

NEW OFFICIALS IN NEAMT, SIBIU--Inasmuch as some positions of deputy chairmen of the executive committees of the peoples councils in Neamt and Sibiu have become vacant, on the basis of Article 97 of Law No 37/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Gheorghe-Lucian Buzdugan is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Neamt County and Comrade Iosif Tutulea is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Sibiu County. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 25, 3 Mar 82 p 3]

CSO: 2700/225

## BANGLADESH FOREIGN MINISTER DISCUSSES NONALIGNMENT

Sarajevo OSLOBODENJE in Serbo-Croatian 21 Feb 82 p 9

[Interview with Mohammed Shamsul Huq, Bangladesh minister of foreign affairs, by Mugdim Karabeg]

[Text] Professor Mohammad Shamsul Huq, minister of foreign affairs of the Peoples Republic of Bangladesh, is more than just a "professional diplomat." For many years now his professional and life's work has been focused on the problems of Bangladesh and the interests of its people. As a university student in Dacca, Calcutta, and London he very early on opted for a major in economics while at the same time addressing himself to problems of education in the most backward regions of Southeast Asia and to the study of the social structure and issues of this region. He has lectured at the universities of Dacca and Rajshahi, and he is the author of several internationally renowned studies on education and labor in the countries of southern and southeast Asia.

He is one of the originators of a program for regional cooperation among seven Asian countries: Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bhutan, Nepal, and the Maldiv Islands. He is an active member of several working bodies of the nonaligned movement, the United Nations, the Islamic summit, and other international organizations. He served as an intimate adviser to the assassinated president of Bangladesh, Ziaur Rahman, together with whom he acted as an intermediary in the Iraq-Iran conflict. He is one of those leaders of the Republic of Bangladesh who prevented the assassination of president Ziaur Rahman from being turned into a pretext for the abandonment of the late president's long-standing policy in favor of the development of Bangladesh as spelled out in the famous "19 points" and the consistent promotion of a democratic political system in that country. He is a close adviser of the current president, Djalal Abdus Satar. It is for this reason that our recent meeting with this prominent figure on the Bangladesh political scene proved to be so very interesting. When we put to him the rather conventional question as to "what he thought about the nonalignment movement" professor Shamsul Huq responded in a quite unconventional manner as if he were quoting excerpts from some of his scholarly works.

"The commitment of president Tito, with whom I was personally acquainted and whom I deeply admired, to unconditional dedication to the original principles of the nonaligned movement was a reflection of the deepest interests of the peoples of Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia is putting these principles into practice

steadfastly and in their purest form, i.e., the principles associated with the struggle for independence in the geopolitically most sensitive point on the globe between East and West, the struggle for world peace, for the freedom of all peoples, and for cooperation among all countries on the basis of full equal rights. This policy of nonalignment served as a powerful inspiration to a number of other countries, including in particular those countries which are most underdeveloped, and this also includes our own Bangladesh.

"We are fighting for the same things. Constant reliance on the original principles of the nonaligned movement arises from the most profound interests of our peoples, since this is the most solid foundation for promoting faster domestic economic development under conditions marked by the severe backwardness which we inherited. This is why all of the policies and views of Bangladesh and Yugoslavia concerning the most critical issues of international relations and development are either identical or similar. And this is why at the forthcoming conference of the nonaligned in Baghdad we too will commit ourselves to the preservation and further strengthening of these principles."

Professor Shamsul Huq, noticeably disturbed and at the same time resigned, then went on to talk about the contradictions of the modern world, the increasingly strained relations among the superpowers and the senselessness of the arms race, conflicts, including open military conflicts, among members of the nonaligned movement, and the unjust international economic order which is driving the underdeveloped countries into even greater poverty because they are forced to sell their raw materials for one dollar in order to be able to pay 10, 20 or even a 100 dollars for finished manufactured goods.

"All of these things are a reflection of the dangers and new challenges that the non-aligned will have to come to grips with in Baghdad," continued the Bangladesh minister of foreign affairs. "What are we going to do to slow down the arms race?! While a large part of the human race is suffering from starvation at least 500 billion dollars are being spent every year on weaponry and armies. And these resources could be expended so much more beneficially to promote international economic cooperation and the more rapid development of the underdeveloped countries. The world has succeeded in overcoming naked, political colonialism. But economic colonialism remains as a yoke hanging around the necks of many countries. Because of the unfair prices that prevail in trade between the world's poor and highly developed countries the profits from this trade are flowing from the most backward countries to the most affluent countries, and the gap between them is widening.

"I think that the nonaligned movement has to take a stand in favor of fulfilling several tasks of common concern to all of these countries. In the first place it is necessary to mount a struggle against hunger which is plaguing many nations, including our country, Bangladesh. This could be accomplished in part through the establishment of closer cooperation among the nonaligned countries, the creation of more open markets, and the signing of barter trade agreements based on fair prices. This would open the way for increased sales of our goods on the markets of the nonaligned countries and vice versa, greater employment, and a faster rise in incomes. I believe that another one of these common concerns is to find a way to effectively put a stop to the senseless wars that are going on among nonaligned countries..."

Minister Huq then went on to comment in detail on the subject of regional cooperation among the countries of southeast Asia. This cooperation got under way last year with the holding of two conferences of deputy foreign ministers and the formation of study groups dealing with the areas of agriculture, rural development, transportation, health care, meteorology, communications, postal services, and scientific-technical cooperation. These talks and cooperative ventures are taking place in keeping with the spirit of the principles of the United Nations and the nonaligned movement.

"This regional cooperation is guarantee of peace, stability, and progress in this part of Asia," said professor Shamsul Huq. "If we want to have economic cooperation, then it is most important that we should have peace and stability. This is the long-range goal of our policy, i.e., the advancement of good relations with all of our neighbors throughout the region and the settlement of minor disputes. We are happy with the results that have been achieved to date, and a conference of the foreign ministers of the seven countries will soon be held to put the finishing touches on the work already done by the deputy ministers and study groups.

"I would also like to call attention to the fruitful cooperation that exists among the Islamic countries, a record of cooperation that is of great importance and benefit to Bangladesh. We are of course cooperating with many other countries all over the world. Even though Yugoslavia is a long way from Bangladesh, companies from your country are still working on some very important projects here which we highly appreciate. There are no problems whatever as far as relations between Yugoslavia and Bangladesh are concerned. We are bound together by general commitments to the development of mankind as well as by the deep emotional ties that exist between our peoples and individual leadership figures due to their constant and close contacts."

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